



Llamas, or Peruvian Sheep.

Pub^d Feb. 1805, by, Richard Phillips, 6, New Bridge Street.

THE
PRESENT STATE
OF
PERU:

COMPRISING ITS

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GEOGRAPHY,
TOPOGRAPHY,
NATURAL HISTORY,
MINERALOGY,
COMMERCE,
THE CUSTOMS AND MANNERS
OF ITS INHABITANTS,

THE STATE OF LITERATURE,
PHILOSOPHY, AND THE ARTS,
THE MODERN TRAVELS OF
THE MISSIONARIES IN THE
HERETOFORE UNEXPLORED
MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORIES,

&c. &c.

THE WHOLE DRAWN FROM
ORIGINAL AND AUTHENTIC DOCUMENTS,
CHIEFLY WRITTEN AND COMPILED IN THE PERUVIAN CAPITAL;

AND

EMBELLISHED BY TWENTY ENGRAVINGS OF COSTUMES, &c.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, No 6, BRIDGE-STREET, BLACKFRIARS;
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1805.

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TO

THE RIGHT HON. LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE,

FIRST LORD OF ADMIRALTY,

LORD PRIVY SEAL OF SCOTLAND,

A MEMBER OF HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL,

&c. &c. &c.

THIS WORK,

REplete WITH NOVEL INFORMATION RELATIVE TO A COUNTRY WHICH CLAIMS,

AT THE PRESENT MOMENT,

FROM THE BRITISH PATRIOT, AND THE BRITISH STATESMAN,

A MORE THAN COMMON INTEREST,

IS VERY RESPECTFULLY

DEDICATED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S MOST DEVOTED

AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.



THE

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

RELATIVE to the progressive advances of civilization and society, in the Spanish colonies of South America, little has been hitherto known ; and this imperfect knowledge has been, for the greater part, derived from polluted sources. The Spaniards by whom these colonies have been visited, and who have, on their return to the parent kingdom, drawn up the result of their observations, have been led by various motives, either personal, or founded in policy and the terrors of the inquisition, to have recourse to reticences and misrepresentations, in whatever has regarded the social condition of the inhabitants, and their philosophical and scientific attainments. On another hand, the native writers have had uncommon impediments to encounter, in the illustrations at which they have aimed : but a few years have elapsed since they have had the advantage of a press, by which to disseminate their ideas ; and this facility they enjoy at certain intervals only, under the
most

most liberal and enlightened of their administrators. They were before under the necessity of transmitting their MS. productions, destined for impression, to the capital of Spain, where they were in most instances lost to the public, either through the cupidity of the correspondents to whom the remittances, intended to defray the expences, were made, or through the restraints which are imposed, in every arbitrary government, on those who dare to give a full scope to their opinions. Those of the literati of Peru, on subjects appertaining to the policy of states, have been occasionally pronounced with a boldness and a decision which mark a strong spirit of independence, in the periodical works established, within these few years, in the capital and other parts of that kingdom.

By one of those casualties* (if this term can be applied to events arising from the preponderance of a formidable marine, and from an heroic ardour carrying with it a resistless force), by which Great Britain has appropriated to herself, in her different contests with Spain, so great a share of the colonial treasures belonging to the latter nation, several volumes of a periodical work, printed at Lima, and richly stored with

* The capture of the St. Jago, bound from Callao, the port of Lima, to Cadiz, in 1793.

intellectual treasures, fell into the hands of the Editor. The few specimens of their contents which he was enabled to give at the time*, on the eve of his being called abroad by his public duty, were favourably received : they indeed excited, among men of letters, a degree of surprize, which demanded the evidence of the originals to attest their authenticity. It was suspected that a new Psalmanazar, or another Damberger, of still more recent notoriety in literary imposture, had conceived and digested the plan of obtruding on the public credulity these scientific sketches, purporting to be from a part of the globe where not any degree of science could be reasonably supposed to exist.

Such were the sentiments generally entertained in this country, of the abject state of every description of knowledge in the South American continent, when the periodical work entitled “ El Mercurio Peruano ” (the Peruvian Mercury), strayed from its destination, to efface the impressions which had been made, and to substitute others very different in their nature. An Academical Society established in the capital of Peru, the members of which, in treating the diversified subjects of literature, philosophy, history, &c. displayed a profound know-

* Through the medium of the Monthly Magazine, in 1797, and the commencement of 1798.

ledge of ancient and modern learning, was a novelty as welcome as it was unexpected. Whether that society still exists in Lima, is uncertain ; but it appears that the Peruvian Mercury, after having been progressively subjected to a variety of restraints, was discontinued somewhere about the year 1796. On the following year, its learned editor, Don Jacinto Calero y Moreira, passed from Lima to Buenos-Ayres.

From the above periodical work, as it was carried on during the first sixteen months, commencing with January 1791, and from various authentic sources*, of which the Editor has gladly availed himself, the “ Present State of Peru” has been compiled. Whatever can tend to interest or amuse the British reader, has been selected, and given in a more or less abridged form, according to the relative importance and curiosity of the objects of inquiry. A certain degree of arrangement has been followed in the introduction of the different subjects, which, the Editor flatters himself, collectively form a literary *olla podrida*, a true Spanish dish, the ingredients of which are

* In obtaining this information, the Editor has been laid under particular obligations, which he here most gratefully acknowledges, by Don Pedro d’Oribe y Vargas, a learned naturalist, now residing in this capital, to whom the public are indebted for an interesting account of a Peruvian plant, the juice of which is a sure antidote against the bite of serpents, given in the Philosophical Magazine, vol. xii. p. 36. The queries relative to the phenomena of the climate of certain districts of Peru, were answered by this gentleman.

so seasoned, as to hold out the promise of becoming in a greater or less degree suitable to each palate : he has otherwise missed the aim he had in view.

The old English saying, “to shoot at a pigeon and kill a crow,” was, however, verified by him, when he obtained the set of Peruvian Mercuries, the selection from which forms the basis of his work. He was in quest, not of books, but of a valuable Peruvian remedy belonging to the vegetable kingdom (the carahuala), little known in this country. To the end that the adventure might be complete, he stumbled on a painting, which he has employed, partly with a view to illustrate the subject matters of his work, and partly to render the work itself more agreeable to the reader, where such illustration was not absolutely necessary. The painting in question, the production of an untutored native, denied the advantages which the high cultivation of the arts in Europe affords, is in many of its parts finely executed, as will appear by the subjects that have been taken from it on the present occasion. It represents the Indian festival, in the great square of Lima, on the event of the accession of his present Catholic Majesty, Charles the Fourth, to the throne. In the engravings, the design of the artist has been strictly adhered to; and it ought therefore to be noticed, that, as he was planted on an eminence, his picture presents what is termed by painters a bird’s-eye view. The curve

of the petticoat in some of the female figures, may, with other peculiarities of a similar kind, be thus explained.

It would be to anticipate the pleasure of the reader, whose industry, in the agreeable task of exploring what may be in a manner considered as a *terra incognita*, is not to be questioned, to point out to his notice all the curious and novel information he will obtain, by a perusal of the sheets now respectfully submitted to him. There are some leading points, however, on which it may not be inexpedient to touch in this Preface. One of these is, the extraordinary depopulation of the Indian tribes, since the conquest: from upwards of eight millions of souls, at which they were computed in 1551, they have been reduced to little more than half a million. They are, notwithstanding, absolutely necessary to the prosperity of the mines, which they alone are capable of working, and which have progressively fallen off in their produce, in a nearly similar ratio. A milder and better policy has been latterly adopted towards these unfortunate victims of Spanish ambition, and Spanish cupidity. Would that this observation could be made to apply to the condition of the negroes, whose lot in Peru appears to be rigorous, beyond any example that has been elsewhere furnished !

Natural history has been, within the last few years, enriched

riched by many important discoveries made in South America ; one of which, that of the *bombyx papyrifex*, or paper-making silk-worm, is highly curious. Belonging to this department of science, and to divers others, the reader will derive much valuable information, from a perusal of what is given in the part of topography, and in the Appendix, containing, with other details of great interest, those of the travels of the missionaries in the heretofore unexplored territories of Peru. In his researches into the literature of that country, he will find quotations from authors prohibited in Spain. “ El Eusebio,” a work in the Spanish language, on the same plan as the *Emile* of Rousseau, was, he will perceive, boldly cited by the learned and patriotic Bishop of Quito, in the eloquent discourse he pronounced, at the first meeting of the Economical Society established in that city. An Index of the modern authors quoted in the Peruvian Mercury, is subjoined, to furnish some idea of the extent of the literary attainments made in that remote quarter of the globe. These attainments will constantly be proportioned to the industry employed in the acquisition of the means. Where books are sought after with so much avidity, and at so great a risk, the beams of mental illumination cannot fail to expand their celestial light, and to dispel the thick gloom of ignorance.

JOSEPH SKINNER.

Tottenham Court, January 30, 1805.

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PRESENT STATE

OF

PERU.

PART I.

THE PERUVIAN TERRITORY.

GENERAL IDEA OF PERU.

THE productions of the foreign writers who have attempted to describe Peru, abound for the greater part in fictions and absurdities. Among the Spanish authors who have treated of that country, the earlier ones either compiled the relations of their own adventures, or introduced into their histories and annals what tradition had handed down to them. Of this class are Garcilaso, Herrera, Zarate, Gil Gonzales, &c. as are also all those by whom they have been followed, with the exception of Don Ulloa, who, in the history of his voyage to South America, has treated of the customs, manners, and diversions of the inhabitants. This illustrious author is the first among the Spanish writers, who, in describing these countries, has soared to the contemplation of man in his moral and physical relations.

From such loose materials as the above, and from the slight information which a few travellers have picked up in a cursory way, all the histories, reflections, charts, geographical tracts, and compendiums, which have been published respecting Peru on the banks of the Seine and of the Thames, have been compiled. The spirit of system, national prejudices, ignorance, and caprice, have by turns so much influenced the greater part of these productions, that the Peru which they describe to us, appears to be a country altogether different from the one with which we are practically acquainted.

The consequence which we deduce from this exposition is, that we may, without presumption, set out by giving a general sketch of Peru, without ~~fearing~~ to incur the imputation of plagiarism; and with the certainty of furnishing more precise, and, at the same time, more novel information, than any that has been hitherto given.

This great empire, the foundation of which by the Incas remains enveloped in the obscurity of a series of fables, and of an uncertain tradition, has lost much of its local grandeur since the time when it was stripped, on the north side, of the provinces which form the kingdom of Quito*, and afterwards of those which, towards the east, constitute the viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres†. Its present extent‡ in length runs, north

* In 1718.

† In 1778.

‡ The geographical map of Santa Cruz, and the hydrographical chart of Don Ulloa, inserted in the third volume of his voyage to South America, have been useful to us in fixing the longitudes and latitudes, respecting which Busching, Lacroix, and various other geographers, differ most essentially.

and south, over a space of from four hundred and twenty to four hundred and fifty leagues, from two degrees to nearly twenty-three degrees of south latitude ; and its greatest breadth is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty leagues, east and west, from two hundred and ninety-seven to three hundred and ten degrees of west longitude, the first meridian being taken at the Peak of Teneriffe. The river of Guayaquil divides it from the new kingdom of Granada on the north side. The depopulated territory of Atacama separates it from the kingdom of Chile towards the south. Another horrible desart, of more than five hundred leagues extent, separates it towards the east from the provinces of Paraguay and Buenos-Ayres ; and lastly, the Pacific Sea washes its western shores.

A chain of barren and rugged mountains ; several sandy plains, which in a manner reach from one extremity of the coast to the other ; and several lakes of many leagues in extent, some of which are situated on the summits of the above chain of mountains, occupy a great part of the Peruvian territory. Throughout, the breaks, and the vallies, which enjoy the benefit of irrigation, present to the view an extensive range of delightful plains, replete with cities and towns, and the climate of which is highly salubrious. That of the elevated spots of La Sierra is extremely cold. In the pampas, or plains, of Bombon*, Fahrenheit's thermometer is constantly at from thirty-four to forty degrees above zero.

* These are plains of fifteen leagues in length, and five or six in breadth, which form a part of the sub-delegation of Tarma, and of the intendency of the same name : they are distant from Lima, in an eastern direction, forty leagues. The lake of Chinchay-cocha intersects them in their length ; and they constitute the most lofty and most level part of La Sierra.

The population of Peru, so far as relates to the original casts, is composed of Spaniards, Indians, and negroes. The secondary specieses best known, and proceeding from a mixture of these three, are the mulatto, the offspring of the Spaniard and negro woman; the Quarteron, of the mulatto woman and Spaniard; and the Mestizo, of the Spaniard and Indian woman. The final subdivisions which are formed by the successive mixtures, are as many as the different possible combinations of these primitive races.

The rural operations of sowing and planting, as well as domestic employments, have constantly fallen to the lot of the negroes. It is true, indeed, that within these four years past several white people have engaged in these different tasks. Prior to this, any one, neither a negro nor a mulatto, who should have hired himself as a valet or a labourer, would have been in a manner reputed infamous: to such a length was prejudice, or it may perhaps be said, pride, carried on this head. There are many enlightened politicians, who think it would be very unfortunate for the kingdom, and more especially for the capital, Lima, if this prejudice were to be entirely done away.

The commerce of Peru has been considerably augmented, since it has, by the arrival of the merchant vessels of Spain by Cape Horn, and by the grant of an unrestrained commerce, freed itself from the oppression under which it groaned in the time of the Galeons, and of the fairs of Porto-Bello and Panama. Prior to that epoch, the bulky and overgrown capitals circulated through, and were in a manner lost in, a few hands; and while the little trader tyrannized over the people, by regulating, at his own will, the prices of the various productions
and

and commodities, he himself received the law from the monopolizing wholesale dealer. The negotiations of the capital with the interior were then, in a great measure, dependent on the intelligence and the decisions of the magistrates; and the commerce with Spain owed its best security to the circulation of the silver entered in the bills of lading. Commerce, on the other hand, being at this time subdivided into so many smaller branches, maintains a greater number of merchants; at the same time that the fortunes which accrue from it are not so numerous. It is necessary that a commercial man should combine his plans skilfully, and extend his speculations, to be enabled to acquire a handsome property.

The manufactures of this country consist almost entirely of a few friezes, the use of which is in a manner confined to the Indians and negroes. There are besides an inconsiderable number of manufactures of hats, cotton cloths, drinking glasses, &c. which do not, however, occupy much space in the scale of the riches of Peru. Sugar, Vicuna wool, cotton, Peruvian bark, copper, and cocoa (it is to be observed, however, that the two latter articles, as well as a considerable part of the Peruvian bark, are sent hither from Guayaquil, &c.), are the only commodities, the produce of our mines excepted, which we export.

The mines are the principal, it may indeed be said, the only source of the riches of Peru. Notwithstanding the little industry which is employed in working them, and the small help which commerce affords to the miners, 534,000 marks of silver, and 6,380 of gold, were smelted and refined last year
(1790)

(1790) in the royal mint of Lima; and 5,206,906 piastres*, in both materials, were coined there†.

From the mines of Gualgayoc‡, and from that of Pasco§, about the one half of the silver which is annually smelted, coined, and wrought, is extracted. The mine of Guantajaya|| is abundant in ores and rich metallic veins, but does not yield in proportion, in consequence of the dearness of every necessary, as well for working as for convenience and subsistence. On account also of its distance from the capital, the benefits which would otherwise arise from it are lost: the ores of thirty marks the caxon¶, do not pay themselves; and the same may be said of the products of the smaller and more superficial veins, which occasionally present themselves, and in which the silver is chiselled out. It is greatly to be hoped that the plan of transporting the produce of this mine to Calloa may be adopted, since such an expedient would not only cause the

* Dollars.

† In the former year, 1789, 3,570,000 piastres in silver, and 766,768 in gold, were coined.

‡ These mines are in the intendency of Truxillo, one hundred and seventy-eight leagues distant from Lima, and from Truxillo sixty-eight.

§ Otherwise called the metallic mountain of Lauricocha. It is situated at the northern extremity of the plains of Bombon, and is distant from Lima forty-five leagues, and from Tarma twenty-two.

|| This mine, which, in opposition to the laws Nature generally observes, is situated in a very hot and sandy soil, is comprehended in the province of Tarapacá, in the intendency of Arequipa. It is distant from that intendency eighty leagues, from Lima three hundred, and from the port of Iquique nearly two leagues.

¶ The caxon contains 6,250 pounds.

mine

mine to flourish, but would be beneficial to all the adjacent provinces.

That of Guarochiri*, the effects of the abundance of which are more immediately felt in the capital, does not flourish in a degree which should apparently correspond with the richness of its ores, and the abundance of its metallic spots and veins. The adoption of the newly introduced method of amalgamation ; the employment of a sufficient number of Indian labourers, who may be engaged without difficulty ; and a few reforms in the practical part of the laborious operations ; these are the only principles on which this mine, as well as all the others in the kingdom, can be brought into a truly flourishing condition.

The navigation of Peru is limited. Our commerce in corn carries us to the ports of Chile ; with Guayaquil we carry on a traffic in timber, &c. ; and, lastly, we make a few voyages to Chiloe, Juan-Fernandes, Valdivia, and Panama. We navigate with economy and with ease ; but are deficient in the scientific part, deriving no aid whatever from astronomy. Those who have the charge of our trading vessels have no skill beyond imitation. The hydrographical charts which are consulted, are, on many accounts, defective ; and the situation of the coasts is more parallel than it is represented on them. On another hand, the fogs which almost constantly hover over the land, and hide it from the navigator's view, oblige him to make a circuitous course, by which his voyage is considerably

* This mine extends, in a manner, over the whole of the province bearing its name, the capital of which is the town of Guarochiri, distant from Lima seventeen leagues, and from Tarma twenty-eight. It belongs to the intendency of Lima.

protracted.

protracted. Until about the year 1780, it was a source of vast riches to a commercial house to keep a vessel of its own employed in the coasting trade ; but in proportion as mercantile speculations have been since multiplied, the price of freightage has been lowered, and the profits divided among a greater number of adventurers.

The fishery is a branch of industry exclusively belonging to the Indians situated on the coast ; but they are destitute of skill, and, being at the same time unprovided with proper boats and fit instruments, keep constantly within sight of the coast, venturing but a very small distance to sea. Hence arise the scarcity and dearness of fish, so often experienced at Lima, and in all the places along the coast. A few years ago several boats of a particular construction were built, for the purpose of fishing throughout the whole extent of these seas ; but this scheme was shortly afterwards abandoned. The lakes of Peru afford but few fishes. Were the Indian to resort to them, he would not estimate the fruit of his labours : content with his maize and his dried pease, he considers the multiplicity of foods as a voluntary surrender of health and life.

Agriculture might, generally speaking, be made to supply our wants, insomuch that our subsistence ought not to be so precarious as it is, nor so dependent on foreign aid. In the vallies adjacent to the capital, wheat may be cultivated with the greatest success. The bad, uneven roads, together with the delays and expence of carriage, almost entirely obstruct the internal circulation of this kingdom, and are so many obstacles in the way of agriculture. The valley of Jauja *, affords
many

* This valley, the circumference of which is not more than seventeen leagues, is extremely

many proofs in support of this proposition : the facility with which it sends its maize and other products to the mine of Pasco, keeps it in a most flourishing condition.

The natural history of Peru is fertile in prodigies. All the systems which have been formed in Europe on this subject, are capable of a thousand amplifications, whenever their theories shall be applied to our natural productions. The mountains of Chanchamayo, Huanuco, Lamas *, &c. are so many privileged spots of Nature, relatively to the surprizing gaudiness and beauty of their productions. The intervention of several humid and hot climes, and the dread of the hostile Indians who inhabit them, have contributed to with-hold from us much information on this head : there is, however, a great scope for investigation and description ; and accordingly the natural history of Peru will occupy no small space in our work.

Knowledge is general throughout Peru, as well on account of the natural quickness and penetration of its native inhabitants, as through their fondness for study. In whatever does not require a meditated combination of ideas, the fair sex has commonly the advantage over ours. The Royal University of St. Mark of Lima, and, proportionally, the other universities of this kingdom, form a centre of literature, which diffuses an

extremely populous. Atunjauija is the capital of the province of that name, dependent on the intendency of Tarma, from which it is distant ten leagues, and from Lima thirty-eight.

* The mountains of Chanchamayo are distant from Tarma twenty-five leagues. Those of Huanuco are distant from Lima about eighty leagues. The mountains of Lamas extend from Tefé, the boundary of the Portuguese possessions, to the confines of the intendency of Truxillo.

abundant light to the whole of the circumference. Under their auspices, the moral and philosophical sciences have, latterly, made an incredible progress, having found their way into all the schools, and thence diffused themselves rapidly into every order of the state. It is our earnest wish that this philosophical light may, by its permanence and efficacy, influence and ameliorate the common system of education. It is on that score alone, in the acceptation which embraces the whole extent of the kingdom, that Peru is in some measure defective. A good taste, urbanity, and a social disposition, are the hereditary qualities of every Peruvian.

We have thus fulfilled our promise, by giving an idea of Peru in general terms, not subject to a determinate point, either of history or of literature. It is a prefatory introduction ; or, if we may be permitted to adopt the phrase, a leisure composition, which will give us a greater facility in treating of the different subjects that regard the kingdom of Peru, as they may occasionally present themselves to our notice.

VESTIGES OF THE

MONUMENTS OF ANCIENT PERU.

SCARCELY does man begin to live, when every thing announces to him his approaching dissolution. The elements destined to his nourishment, conspire to his destruction ; and the very globe he inhabits does not cease, by violent convulsions, to endeavour to shake off a load by which it seems to be oppressed. In the mean time, immortality is that which causes
in

in his mortal breast the most poignant and unquiet sensation. The desire of surviving his perishable existence, and of transmitting to posterity his heroical achievements, is an idol to which his last sacrifices are offered up.

This enthusiasm, of equal antiquity with man himself, has constantly led him to have recourse to a thousand expedients, to elude, as it were, the painful limit of his inevitable destiny, and to avenge its attacks. Odoriferous and aromatic substances, balsams, cedar, brass, and marble, on the one hand; on the other, compositions replete with melody, brilliant recitals, emblems, and fine images, which have an efficacious power to attract attention and excite surprize;—such are the obstacles which the pride of mortals has opposed to the voraciousness of time. Hence have arisen mummies, which are preserved for thousands of years, reckoning from their original corruptibility; the mausolea in which they are inclosed; obelisks; pyramids; statues; and all the monuments in which the chisel and the graver display their magic skill, to perpetuate the posthumous memory of the hero and the man of illustrious birth. To this same principle we are indebted for poetry, for history, whether traditional or expressed by symbols, and for all the sketches and designs in which the pencil manifests its powers.

These precious trophies of the vanity and grandeur of men and of nations, destined to immortalize the triumphs of valour, of virtue, and, occasionally, of fanaticism, form, without doubt, an object worthy the consideration and study of the man of letters. But for them, what information could we have obtained relative to those obscure ages which gave birth to monarchies, arts, and sciences, and in which modes and

customs were first regulated ? To those ages in which the lyre, and the sweet harmony of vocal sounds, subdued the ferocious tyger, tamed the enraged lion, and softened the obdurate rocks ? A philosophical poet denied the eternity of the world, solely on this account, that, prior to the Theban war, and the destruction of Troy, no poems or monuments were to be found, to hand down the remembrance of those remarkable events which fame is wont to record, and which illustrate all ages*. But in succeeding times, and in the nations which possessed the art of writing in all its perfection, the want of the press to renew the leaves which the moth or the corroding hand of time had destroyed, has rendered archeology, or the study of antiquities, indispensable, to fill up the chasms they have left, or to comment on the fables they have transmitted to us. In rectifying chronology and history, how useful has been the examination of the hieroglyphics and enigmas of the superstitious Egyptians, the ruins of Palmyra, the odes and descriptions of the Greeks, the busts and pyramids of Rome, &c.

This subject, as it relates to Peru, acquires a new degree of value and interest. At the time of its conquest, the archives of Cuzco, Caxamarca, and Quito, were lost for ever. The fragile *Quipos* are now reduced to dust ; and the tradition of the memorable events of the kingdom having by degrees become less and less perfect, through the ignorance and carelessness of those to whose charge it was entrusted, the observer is obliged to recur to the comparison, or, as it may be said, to the interpretation of the ancient fragments and ruins, to complete the imperfect picture of this ancient empire, as it has been

* Lucretii, lib. v. ver. 325.

sketched by the pencil of Garcilaso. By the same means, the fables relative to its religion and policy, adopted by the latest historiographers, may be deciphered. The study of the monuments erected by the Yncas, to display their power and record their existence ; the recitals of their glories ; the traditions and relics of their ancient usages and customs, which still remain among the modern Indians, who tenaciously preserve and repeat what their forefathers have, from time immemorial, handed down to them ; and, lastly, the investigation of the works which were erected, either by magnificence or through necessity, unquestionably afford a new light, calculated to remove the thick veil which is spread over the historical and civil parts of the Peruvian monarchy, during the whole of the time that preceded its conquest.

If the rage of avarice and ambition had been satisfied with raking up the bowels of the earth, the memorials of ancient Peru would have been multiplied and entire ; and while the delineation would have been more easy, the copy would have been more beautiful. But the execrable thirst of gold carried desolation to the sepulchres, which are the last asylum of mortals, but which were here no security to the ashes respected by the right of nations*. In the same way, however, as the fury
of

* In great conquests, havock and disorders are inevitable ; but those of the detestable Carvajal, and his friend Gonzalo Pizarro, were carried to an unheard-of excess. The latter put to the torture several of the Indians who had fallen into his hands, to force them to discover the sepulchre of the Ynca Viracocha, in which much treasure was said to be concealed. It was found in the valley of Caxâhuana, distant from Cuzco six leagues. Not content with glutting his avarice by the spoil and riches he found in the sepulchre, he burned the corpse of this monarch, and scattered

of Cambyses could not prevent many inestimable remains of Egyptian learning from being handed down to the present times, so is the utter annihilation of the monuments of the Yncas far from having been accomplished. Their ruins are every where to be found ; and, in the midst of the ravages they have suffered, offer sufficient materials to form an estimate of the arts, sciences, and policy, of those by whom they were raised.

The famous obelisks and statues of Tiahuanacu* ; together with the mausolea of Chahapoyas† ; works destined to challenge

tered in the air his respectable ashes. Don Pedro de la Gasca, a virtuous Spaniard, whose name ought to be engraven on all the public monuments of Peru, punished this and the other crimes of the perfidious Pizarro, by causing him to be decapitated beside the monument he had so scandalously outraged. The foreign writers who dwell so pertinaciously on the horrors which attended the conquest of Peru, when they exaggerate the misconduct of some of the early adventurers, ought not to forget the heroism and virtues of this learned president, and of many others, who, by imitating his example, have not only wiped away the national stains on this score, but have also rendered the Spanish name illustrious by their valour and heroic deeds.

* This town, situated on the confines of the city of la Paz, is unquestionably anterior to the monarchy of the Yncas, notwithstanding one of them bestowed on it its present name, the origin of which is said to be as follows: the Ynca fell in there with a messenger, whose dispatch in travelling was so great, that it might be compared to the swiftness of the huanaco, an animal having some degree of resemblance to the *bouquetin*, or wild goat of the Alps. The Ynca, alluding to this circumstance, said to the messenger, when he was brought into his presence, *Tia-Huanaco*, be seated, huanaco. To perpetuate the remembrance of the celerity of the messenger, and the condescension of the monarch, this name was substituted to the one the place originally bore. The formidable pyramid it contains, and the colossal statues of stone, together with a variety of human figures nicely cut out of the same substance, although decayed by time, point out that this monument belonged to some gigantic nation.

† The province of Chahapoyas contains buildings of stone, of a conical shape, supporting

lenge duration with eternity, not only on account of the solidity of their materials, but also of the sites on which they were erected, alike display their skill in sculpture, and their ambition for immortality. That they were extremely solicitous on this head, both with respect to the sculptures and the dead bodies, is attested by the multitude of mummies which, after a lapse of so many years, indeed, of so many ages, are to be found entire in the catacombs. The examination of them, may, perhaps, instruct us in the mode by which they contrived to secure them from putrefaction, and from the destructive hand of time*.

The ruins of Pachacamac ; the edifices of Cuzco and Quito ; the fortresses of Herbay and Caxâhuana ; and the roads cut through the middle of the Cordillera mountains, the one more especially, in the formation of which the most elevated hills were to be made level with the vallies†, attest the skill of the ancient Indians in civil and military architecture.

The

supporting large unwieldy busts. They are situated on the declivities of mountains, and in spots so inaccessible, that, in their construction, both the materials and the workmen must have been lowered down by the means of strong cordage. They appear to have been the mausolea of certain caciques or principal people, who, being desirous to perpetuate their memory, endeavoured not only to secure these monuments from the ravages of time, by forming them of the most durable substance, but also from the rude attacks of man, by placing them where the precipice would prevent his approach.

* It is conjectured by some, that the Indians preserved the dead bodies, merely by exposing them to the action of frost. This supposition might be allowed, if these mummies were alone to be found in Sierra, and in the cold temperatures. But, on the other hand, they are to be met with in abundance, in catacombs dug out in the vallies, and in the warmer climates.

† The authors of the Encyclopedia, under the head of America, deny the existence

The large apertures in the mountains of Escamora, Chilleo, and Abitanis, abounding in gold ; those of Choquipina and Pozco, in silver ; those of Curahuara, in copper ; and those of Carabuco, in lead ; together with many other stupendous and magnificent labours of a similar nature, all undertaken in the time of the government of the Yncas, give an idea of their subterraneous and metallurgic architecture.

The fragments of the great aqueducts of Lucanas, Condesuyos, and an infinity of others, which, in the midst of precipices, conducted the water from the deepest vallies to the summit of the highest hills, and to the distant plains ; the clefts of hills filled up with earth, to augment the proportion of the cultivable lands—an enterprize which the observer cannot fail to contemplate with admiration and surprize ; and the very useful custom, still observed by the Indians of the present day, of uniting together like brethren, in the rural labours of the seed-time and the harvest, are so many incontestible proofs of the skill of this nation in hydraulics and agriculture. It is evident that in this description of knowledge, the Spaniards have not only made no advances, but have also lost many of the guides with which the example of the Indians might have furnished them.

It was the custom of the native Peruvians to be interred with their apparel, and other personal effects. Their sepulchres are rich depositaries of their paintings, manufactures, mechanical and warlike instruments, implements for fishing, &c. The modern Indians still preserve the industry of their fore-

ence of these roads. To convince themselves, they have only to send some one to view the splendid vestiges of them which still remain.

fathers,

fathers, in the weaving of *lliellas*, *anacos*, and *chuces*, and in the manufacture of *topos*, *huaqueros*, &c.*

Of their ancient writing, some traces are to be found among the shepherds, who make use of *quipos*† to reckon the number, increase, or diminution of their flocks, not forgetting the day or hour on which a sheep died, a lamb was ewed, or one of the flock stolen. The language they employed when they invoked the protection of the deity, may serve to give an idea of their oratory. Of their poetry and music many records still exist. The modern Indians, who are excessively fond of dancing, have not forgotten the wind instruments, and the immense variety of quick and lively airs which were the delight of their ancestors. Their tradition has handed down a few idyls and odes, and many elegies, which are revived and augmented, as well by the *Arabicus*‡ as by the Spaniards,
by

* The *lliella* is a very fine square covering, adorned with much labour, which serves the Indians as a mantle. The *anaco* also forms a part of their dress, but is much larger. The *chuce* is a kind of carpet. The *topo* is a pin of gold, silver, or other metal, with a large solid head, either circular or square, on which various figures are sculptured. Its use is to fasten the *lliella* at the breast, and to ornament it. The *huaquero* is a small earthen vessel.

† The Peruvian tracts of Madame Grasigny induced an Italian nobleman, a member of the Academy of La Crusca, and a dutchess of the same nation, to write a large volume in quarto, entitled *An Apology for the Quipos*. After introducing into this work what Garcilaso has written on the subject, the authors describe with so much confidence the grammar and dictionary of the *Quipos*, and, in short, whatever relates to Quipographia, that we should have fancied we had fallen in with some *Quipo-Camay* (secretary) of the Yncas, if, unfortunately, all the conjectures had not been utterly false.

‡ *Arabicus*. Name of the Peruvian poets, from which is derived that of the *yara-vies*, bestowed on their elegiac songs. The style, effect, and peculiar music of

by whom they are recited with the sweetness, tenderness, and soft melancholy, which are the soul of these compositions.

The sciences which were cultivated by the Yncas with the greatest industry, were astronomy and medicine. Several pillars erected to point out the equinoctials and solstices ; the names given to the planets ; the celestial observations relative to eclipses ; and those by which they kept their time, are so many data by which their progress in the former of these sciences may be calculated. Their acquirements in the latter may be estimated by the medical practice of the Indians who inhabit the mountainous territory, and by the skill of the Ceamatas*, the successors of the ancient *Amautas*.

The government of the Caciques over several of the tribes, which they ruled without controul ; their inflexible justice ; and the order and economy they observed, are illustrative of the mild sway exercised in every part of Peru by the Yncas, during the existence of their monarchies.

If to these materials, the examination of the Quechua tongue were to be added, an estimate might be formed, both of the degree of civilization they had attained, and of the duration of their empire. Words are the images of thought : the beauty and taste displayed in its delineation, and the vivacity with which it is represented, point out the ratio of the state and cultivation of the human mind.

these compositions give them a decided advantage over all the similar ones of other nations, so far as they tend to inspire the human heart with sentiments of piety and love.

* These are Indians of the province of Choque Ceamata, situated in the intendency of La Paz, who, in imitation of the earlier physicians of Greece, travel over the kingdom, provided with herbs, drugs, &c. curing empirically, but oftentimes with great success.

Plate



Indian representation of the Costumes of the Ynca and his Queen.

Plate I. contains the delineation of the costumes of the Ynca, and of his Queen, as represented by the modern Indians in their processions.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PERU.

THE first object which presents itself to the contemplation of the philosopher, in the history of the monuments of ancient Peru, is the delineation of the various dispositions and organization of its vast territory. In tracing with his pen, amid the spoils and ravages of time and of war, the degree of cultivation this famous nation had attained, when, without the help either of the Egyptians, the Phœnicians or the Greeks, it established wise laws, and made, in certain points of view, great advances in the arts and sciences, he finds it indispensably necessary to examine the soil on which the ruins that are to guide and direct him in his researches are placed. The grandeur of the works erected by the hand of man, is not to be estimated solely by the sad remnants to which they are reduced : it is essential that the proportions of the land which served them as a support, should also enter into the calculation. The canal which waters the most fertile valley, does not display the same magnificence in itself, nor manifest an equal effort and skill on the part of the artificer, as that which, running between formidable precipices, rises to the summit of the mountain, and pierces the deep cleft, which in magnitude equals its arm, or falls into the valley from between the brink and the declivity of lofty hills. On the other hand, as the qualities and circumstances of regions influence the genius and character of those by whom they are peopled, without the physical know-

ledge of Peru, it would be impossible to trace out the eminent advantages of its former or present inhabitants.

In the general idea of Peru which we have given, we confined ourselves chiefly to the plans that had been suggested, in dividing, peopling, and cultivating its territory, by the different views and interests of its conquerors. We presented to our readers a prefatory introduction, a leisure composition, in which, noticing rapidly, and in substance, whatever this country owes to man, we prepared them for the elucidation of each of the parts contained in that valuable sketch of our political geography. We now follow a different course. In naming Peru, we banish from our view its inhabitants and its cities, and annihilate even the superb towers of opulent Lima. The plains which our forefathers laboured and fertilized, disappear; and the delightful environs of Rimac present no other ornament than a multitude of shrubs and green meadows, which, agitated by the gentle breeze, rival the undulations and murmurs of the Pacific Ocean, as it washes its banks.

Having penetrated into the ages of remote antiquity, in search of the fragments of the edifices of the Yncas, to complete the history of their monuments, we now fix our attention on those times when the human footstep had as yet left no print on the sands of this favoured region; when its fertile plains were still uncultivated. Nature alone appears, wrapt up in a mysterious silence. Her powerful hand is about to give the last perfection to the globe, and to support its equilibrium, by forming two distinct worlds in one single continent. It would appear, that after she had exercised herself on the burning sands of Africa, on the leafy and fragrant groves of Asia, and on the temperate and colder climes of Europe,

Europe, she aimed at assembling together in Peru all the productions she had denied to the other three quarters, to repose there majestically, surrounded by each of them. Such and so great are the riches this admirable kingdom contains ! In describing its physical geography, it will not be inexpedient to adopt certain divisions. We shall, in the first place, treat of the general design of the two worlds which compose the two principal parts of Peru ; of those two worlds which form the august temple of our mother and liberal benefactress. Their limits, their directions, their correspondences ; their respective advantages over the rest of the terraqueous globe ; and their preponderance and influx in the equilibrium of that globe, are objects which, presenting themselves on a large scale, will lead and accustom us, without fatigue, to the detailed examination of whatever each of them in particular contains. O that any one could possess the divine and energetic pencil of Nature, to give to his portraits the colouring and delicacy with which *she* has beautified the original !

Peru, the limits of which are traced out by the great phenomena that divide the provinces of its universal empire, forms, without doubt, the whole of the southern part of the Burning Zone, which runs north and south from the Equator to the Tropic of Capricorn, and west and east from the borders of the Pacific Sea to the forests and desarts of the country of the Amazons, by which the eastern branch of the Cordillera of the Andes is terminated. Thus its greatest extension, which is to be measured in degrees of latitude, embraces a space of twenty-three degrees and a half, between Cape Palma on the confines of Pasto, and Morro-Moreno on those of the kingdom of Chile. Chosen to be the throne of light in the southern

thern hemisphere, it spreads precisely over the whole of the space which the sun declines from the centre of the sphere, to animate it by its benign influence. Its breadth, which we shall place between two hundred and ninety-seven and three hundred and ten degrees of longitude, the first meridian being taken at the Peak of Teneriffe, varies according as the coasts are at a greater or smaller distance from the Cordillera, or chain of mountains. From the Line to the eighth degree, there is a separation of about one hundred and twenty leagues; but hence, insensibly as it were, gaining ground, its greatest distance, at the eighteenth degree, is reduced to seventy leagues only. By choosing a middle term between these two extremes, and allowing twenty leagues to the degree, the result gives to Peru a plane superficies of 44,650 square leagues*.

The whole of this vast superficies serves as a basis to the great Cordillera of the Andes, which, separating majestically beneath the Equator, and forming two branches, the eastern and the western, parallel to each other, and, for the greater part, to the southern coasts, proceeds on to the Tropic of Capricorn. In its way, the eastern branch takes a bend towards the south-east, and terminates in the plains. The western branch penetrates into the kingdom of Chile†. The
highest

* The limits which we ascribe to Peru, and which are deduced from the contemplation of the equinoxes, the solstices, and the varieties of the soil and climates, agree with those established by the political demarcations executed by the Yncas.

† To elucidate this subject as much as possible, it is proper in this place to state, that the part of South America comprehended between the Equator and the Tropic of Capricorn, is divided, north and south, by three Cordilleras, or chains of mountains. First, that of Brazil, which, commencing about the Equinoctial Line, runs

highest points of each of them are covered by a snow as ancient as the world ; and their volcanoes, which vomit forth a perpetual fire in the region of frost and cold, present a terrific spectacle to the contemplative philosopher.

If the worth of countries were to be estimated by the greater or less extension they afford to population and to agriculture, the Royal Cordillera would diminish the value of Peru, since its eminences and declivities, far from augmenting the proportion of cultivable land which would be found at the bases of this chain of mountains, diminish them extremely* ; but, in

to the Sierras, or mountainous territory of Maldonado, in the river of La Plata. Secondly, the eastern one of Peru, which, originating in the snow-clad mountains of Santa Martha, on the confines of the northern sea, runs, as has been said, towards the Tropic, from whence it takes an inclined direction towards the south-east, and terminates in the plains of the great Chaco. Thirdly, the western one, which proceeds from North America, passes the isthmus of Panama, and redoubles the whole of the southern coast to Cape Horn. Between the northern sea and the first Cordillera, lies Brazil ; between the first and second, lie the great and lofty plains of the country of the Amazons ; and, in the line in which these plains terminate, the second Cordillera commences, as does also Peru, which is comprehended within this one and the third. The ancient Yncas gave to each of them the name of *Ritisuyu*, which signifies a *band of snow* ; and as the four cardinal points, which they called *Tavantinsuyu*, were denoted by the subjugated nations which they viewed towards them, that of the *Antis*, which is to the east of Cuzco, gave the name, as well to the mountains which descend from the second Cordillera into the plains, as to this same Cordillera which precedes them. We still preserve these distinctions, having corrupted the word *Antis* into *Andes*, and afterwards applied the same term to the south Cordillera. We say that both these Cordilleras lie beneath the Equator, since, notwithstanding in the province of Popayan they are already divided and parallel, their mountains are so low, that at two degrees to the north, they have not the fourth part of the elevation of those of the south. Hence it is that the climate is very different from that of high Peru.

* Taking it for granted that, in consequence of the parched and dry state of the declivities

in return, it affords other advantages, which are not only able to keep up the balance, but also to give a preponderance to the side of the territory. For the architecture of this Cordillera appears to be altogether distinct from that which Nature displays in the organization of the rest of the globe; or, rather, it is its design and completion. Divided into two parts, it composes as many worlds, the one high, the other low, in which, as has already been said, is united whatever distinguishes Africa from Asia, and both of them conjointly from Europe.

The high world occupies the ground which separates the two above-mentioned chains of mountains, the summits of which are distant from each other, ten, twenty, and, in some instances, fifty leagues. It indeed happens that in some places they meet and unite, by the interposition of a third Cordillera, which runs east and west. Such is that of Asuay and Moxanda, in the kingdom of Quito*. Notwithstanding its soil,

declivities of the southern mountains, and of the insalubrity of the summits of the Cordillera, it would be impossible to people and cultivate them, we can venture to assert that, *even if it were practicable to execute both, the curvatures, declivities, and hollows of the mountains would not add one handful of useful soil to that which their bases would afford, if they did not exist.* This proposition, paradoxical as it may appear, is an incontestible truth, since all the trees which are planted on the convex superficies of a mountain have to stand perpendicularly to the horizon, and must consequently have, on the horizontal base, as many points of correspondence and support as they occupy in the mountain. Hence it results that, the space which the plane affords being already filled up, nothing more can be planted or sown in all the unequal surfaces of the mountain by which it is occupied. It is equally demonstrable, that a mountainous territory can contain no more houses or inhabitants than the base it occupies, supposing it levelled.

* Father Amrich, in his complete history, in manuscript, of the missions to the Andes

soil, covered with verdure and foliage, is interrupted by innumerable heaths and deep clefts, still it is very aptly described by a philosopher who had occasion to examine this cordillera. *In ascending, says he, the rude and terrific mountains which look towards the South Sea, it cannot possibly occur to the human mind, that on their shoulders others of equal magnitude should rise, and that all of them should serve to shelter, in their common bosom, that happy country where Nature, in her most bountiful mood, or rather, in her prodigality, has painted the image of terrestrial paradise*.*

The low world is situated, with the interposition of the chain of mountains, between the western branch and the ocean, which are distant from each other from ten to twenty leagues. It consists of a multitude of sloping plains, which, descending from this branch, from the Line to Tumbes, terminate in immense forests, and hence advance towards the borders of the ocean, as if with a design to limit its empire. The above plains are separated from each other by valleys, which, originating at the coast of the ocean, with a breadth of from three to eight leagues, take an eastern direction, being bounded on the north and on the south by a series of hills, which, augmenting in proportion as they enter Sierra, divide the western chain, occasionally cross the subsequent space, intersect the eastern chain, and terminate in the plains of the country of the Amazons, preserving a great resemblance to their origin†.

By

Andes mountains, asserts, that there is another of these junctions in the province of Jaen De Bracamoros.

* Bouguer, Figure de la Terre, p. 31.

† By the description we are about to give, it will be apparent that Peru consists
E
entirely

By this description it would appear, that the true direction of the Peruvian Alps is by no means north and south, as has been asserted, and that those who, upon this ground, have fancied they could overturn, by a single effort, the systems of Copernicus and Newton, have not paid a sufficient attention to this subject. Formed of an infinite series of high mountains, which run west and east, or in a contrary direction, between the South Sea and the country of the Amazons, and rising to a prodigious height in the midst of their career, they unite, and appear to the view to take a third course*. The delightful

entirely of two cordilleras, which, by the declivities that unite them, form La Sierra, and one of which, by its opposite sides, composes the mountains of the Andes, while the other, in a similar way, composes the coast. If the division of Peru be to be taken from the direction of the summits of the mountains, by which, according to the idea of Don Ulloa, in his American Notices, it is separated into the higher and lower worlds, the mountains belong exclusively to this plan of division. But if the distinctive characteristics be to be drawn from the qualities of the soil and climate, Peru should be divided into three parts, as has been done by Father Acosta, in his Natural History, page 175. These divisions are as follow: 1st, the mountains of the Andes; 2d, La Sierra; and 3d, the coast, or plains. Characteristics of the first; *constant rain, every where mountainous, the temperature warm*; of the second, *regular seasons, meteors*; of the third, *dryness, the temple of the spring*. Since the principal aim of divisions consists of order and perspicuity in the subject matter treated of, we shall endeavour to preserve both, by adopting the first division; and although, in describing the low world, we have confined ourselves to the bare mention of the coast, we shall, on a future opportunity, enter into a particular examination of the corresponding sections.

* In the hypothesis of the motion of the earth and universal gravitation, the centrifugal force, augmented beneath the Equator, should, to produce the mountains of the Andes, have given them a direction east and west, as is the case with the mountains of the Moon in Africa. Thus, did they in reality run north and south, the hypothesis would be overturned; but our new observations convince us of the contrary.

ful world we are about to sketch, would be obscured by the imperfect descriptions of our pen, if it had not been illustrated by the divinest poet of the age, to whose sublime genius the task was reserved.

Felices nimium populi, queis prodiga tellus
Fundit opes ad vota suas, queis contigit Æstas
Æmula veris, Hyems sine frigore, nubibus aer
Usque carens, nulloque solum fœcundius imbre*.

Certain philosophers have undertaken to erect to Nature a temple worthy of her immensity—a temple in which, her productions being deposited, the skeletons of all organized beings should be collected in the centre; and that over this tomb of corpses death should hover, to give life and vigour to art. Peru is her august temple, in which, without the necessity of

trary. The above-mentioned directions having been examined with the nicest attention, it appears that neither the particular serieses proceed precisely from east to west, nor the junction of them north and south. The latter declines to the south-east, and the particular serieses decline in the same proportion, to the westward from west to south-west, and to the eastward from east to north-east. The reason of this is, that South America does not completely intersect the Equator. Thus, if a line were to be drawn through its middle, longitudinally, it would form with the Equinoctial Line an angle of sixty degrees only, instead of ninety. To restore the directions of our cordilleras in such a way as that they should look precisely towards the cardinal points, it would be necessary that a comet, such as the one of which Whiston dreamed, should make its appearance, should suddenly attach this continent to Cape Horn, and push it thirty degrees to the westward.

* Vanier, *Praed.* page 117.

These lines may be thus freely translated:

“O happy people, to whom the earth pours forth her stores at will; on whom providence has bestowed summers, the coolness of which emulate the spring; winters without cold; a cloudless firmament; and a soil highly fertile without showers.”

the feeble decorations of the chisel and the pencil, without the necessity of viewing her sensible creatures humbled in the dismal array of the sepulchre, she displays herself living, and in all her splendor. The high world is the principal nave; its flooring, superior in elevation to Olympus, Pindus, Imaus, or the Pyrenean mountains, supports a magnificent façade looking towards the north, and crowned by the celestial Equator. The edifice which terminates beneath the tropic of Capricorn, is crowned at the meridian by another arch of equal elegance. *Corazon, Iligniza, Chimborazo, Collanes, Vilcanota, Illimani, Condoroma, and Tacora*, are the columns by which it is supported. *Antisana, Cotopaxi, Tunguragua, Pichincha, Ambato, Quinistakac, and Cheke-Putina*, are so many inextinguishable lamps, which, covered by a thick vapour, perpetuate unceasingly the worship of the Deity.

The collateral divisions, regulated, not according to the wretched ideas of man, but by the infinitely wise plans of the Creator, point out the direction of the vallies of which they are composed, and lead, by superb entrances, to the east and west, to the spacious passages formed, on the one hand, by the fertile plains of the Amazons, and on the other by the coasts and the ocean. The productions of the three kingdoms are distributed in each of them. The areas and columns of the centre are enriched by minerals, among which the diamond, enchased in the finest gold, sparkles with effulgence. In the circumference meteors prevail; and while in one direction, the lightning's vivid flash precedes the loud explosion and the darted thunderbolt, in another the blushing dawn of Aurora shines amid the calmly-floating vapours. The vallies are replete with the treasures of the animal and vegetable kingdoms.

doms. On the eastern side, the fragrant groves are peopled by ferocious beasts, serpents, insects, and the tribe of amphibii. To the westward, the timid quadrupeds feed in security beneath the shade of the cedar and the plaintain, amid aromatic shrubs and odour-distilling flowers. In the bays, aquatic monsters skim the surface of the watery deep.

The ruins which surround these delightful spots, point out the mines of electric fire, the subterraneous directions they have taken, and the points at which they suffer the greatest resistance in their explosions. On contemplating the destruction they have occasioned, the spectator might be disposed to say, that Nature, disgusted with the temple she had herself erected with so much care, had established it on immense masses of the igneous element, to the end that it should be devoured. He might be led to observe that the French naturalist, Buffon, adverted to Peru, when he affirmed that “the terraqueous globe is a confused chaos, which presents no other image than that of a heap of ruins, and of a world fallen into decay.” But let us not insult Nature : she is great, wise, and beautiful, in the midst even of her demolitions. Without them, her works would be left imperfect, and our speculations would be vain and steril. Let us suppose for a moment that we could be surrounded by the fragments of Memphis, of Athens, and of ancient Rome, and that we could bring them within our reach. What an extacy would then take possession of our spirit and intellectual faculties ! Our insatiable thoughts would meditate and reflect on the remains of the pyramids, and on the vestiges of the areopagus and triumphal arcs. With how much pleasure should we record the power of time, and the personages by whom they were erected ! Their antiquity

quity would inspire us with a profound respect. Why, therefore, are we not penetrated by the same sentiments, on viewing the works of Nature? The rocks which are still standing are more ancient than Memphis ; and those which lie prostrate, denote a power infinitely superior to that of the Pharaohs and Mariuses, and a skill which has an equal advantage over the areopagus.

The ruins of the planet we inhabit ought to produce in our heart the same complacency with its reparations ; seeing that the divine economy, which does nothing in vain, by levelling a hill in such a particular direction, affords a passage to the waters which fertilize the plains, and operates a salutary change in the climate. By shaking the most solid foundations of the universe, it intimates to us its power, and diversifies the superficies of the earth, already wearied with affording us nourishment. If to these sentiments, which elevate us to the bosom of Omnipotence, we add others which manifest, to those who study and adore her, the kind solicitude of Nature, we may be led to consider that the ruins which surround her temple are so many mausolea erected to merit. How do we know but that yonder rock, shaded by an old and venerable oak, covers the ashes of the immortal prelate Feliciano De La Vega? Are we certain that those of Peralta do not repose beneath this one, through the sides of which issues a rapid torrent, that, in its impetuous course, would sweep them away, if it should encounter them? Thus also those others, at whose feet a thousand shrubs of variegated hues spring up, amid the beautiful jets of water that play around them, may hereafter become the monuments of the individuals who labour for the glory of Peru ! Let us hence be persuaded that
Nature

Nature needs not the help of man, to preserve the posthumous fame of her philosophers. Bearing therefore in our recollection, that the tombs of Cæsar and Alexander no longer exist, and that those which modern nations have raised to their heroes, must inevitably decay and perish, let us engrave on these solid rocks, sacred to the memory of our sages, and which time has respected : *unius ætatis sunt, quæ fortitur fiunt : quæ vero pro utilitate reipublicæ scribuntur æterna sunt*. Lastly, instead of being terrified at their aspect, let us aspire to live amid the ruins of Peru.

Hitherto we have sketched the temple which Nature has erected to herself on two worlds, so far as it has been within our grasp and our view. The capitals of her proud columns rising into the region of the clouds, are not to be traced by our pencil. It may be said that glory has fixed on them her throne, securing it on crystal pedestals, which, refracting the light in every direction, represent in the ether the fountains and gardens of Elysium, seen through the prism. Commanding thence the whole of the universe, she serenely views beneath her feet the generation and shock of the tempests which affright living mortals, and discovers the inexhaustible sources whence spring the abundant rivers that empty themselves into the ocean*, to enable the industrious European to supply, with the productions of every part of the globe, the country which invigorates

* It is certain that no part of the earth supplies a greater proportion of water to the sea than the cordillera of the Andes. In his voyage, Condamine has very justly observed, " that the rivers which intersect the country of the Amazons are not rivers, but seas of fresh water." The celebrated Indus of Asia, the Nile of Africa, and the Danube of Europe, can scarcely be brought into a comparison with the Ucayali, Beni, and other rivers which unite in the formidable Marañon.

his commerce, cherishes his arts and sciences, renders his troops and fleets respected, and gives him a preponderance in the balance of power.

The Icarus of the age, M. Charles, quitted the banks of the Seine, and ascended into the region of the air, amid the applauses of an immense concourse of spectators. When he could no longer hear the acclamations of the admiring populace; when Paris had already disappeared from his view; when the Alps and Pyrenean mountains were, in a manner, annihilated; and when the whole of Europe merely appeared to him like a large spot by which the horizon was obscured; our aerial navigator was persuaded that he had quitted the vortex of the earth, and was on the point of ascending into that of the moon! Presumptuous and mistaken mortal, in that elevated region thou didst not exceed the level of the surface of the more elevated parts of Peru*! At the height at which it appeared to thee impossible that human beings should respire, those who inhabit that delightful angle have gardens and plains which rival those of Versailles†. No: thou didst not soar to the highest pitch to which man, oppressed as he

* The barometrical observations of Paris being compared with those of our coast, they will be found to be on the same level. Now, M. Charles was carried 1368 toises over the plane of Paris. The plane of Quito exceeds that of the banks of the Pacific Ocean from 1500 to 1600 toises; and the surface of the city of Huancavelica 1949; consequently Messrs. Charles and Robert did not attain the height on which the cities of La Sierra are placed.

† M. Bouguer, who acknowledges that the fertile plains of Quito, Riobamba, &c. are, as has been above stated, from 1500 to 1600 toises higher than the level of the sea, in speaking of them, makes the following observation: "I fancied I saw France, and its verdant plains, in the state in which they are during the spring season."

is by the heavy load of his body, is capable of ascending. Thou art not yet deserving of the laurels of Nature, constantly just in her awards. She reserves them for those who ascend the elevated tops of the Andes mountains ; and surveys with complacency the weak mortal seated on the lofty summit on which the eagle dares not alight, nor even venture a regard. It is there that she shines in her most pompous array, crowning the temples of the hero, not with the opaque metals with which we strive to imitate the splendor of glory*, but with the translucent and beautiful colours of the iris†.

If

* An allusion is here made to the golden suns worn by the ancient sovereigns of Peru.

† The academicians who visited Peru to measure a degree of the meridian under the Equator, have, in their different works, described, in terms of the highest admiration, the extraordinary phenomenon which is seen at sun-rise on our cordilleras, and which they discovered for the first time in the wild heaths of Pambamarca. "At day-break," observes Ulloa, "the whole of the mountain was enveloped in dense clouds, which at sun-rise were dissipated, leaving behind them vapours of so extreme a tenuity as not to be distinguishable to the sight. At the side opposite to that where the sun rose on the above mountain, and at the distance of about sixty yards from the spot where we were standing, the image of each of us was seen represented, as if in a mirror, three concentric irises, the last, or most exterior colours of one of which touched the first of the following one, being centered on the head. Without the whole of them, and at an inconsiderable distance, was seen a fourth arc purely white. They were all perpendicular to the horizon ; and in proportion as any one of us moved from one side to the other, he was accompanied by the phenomenon, which preserved the same order and disposition. What was, however, most remarkable, was this, that although six or seven persons were thus standing close together, each of us saw the phenomenon as it regarded himself, but did not perceive it in the others. This is a kind of apotheosis," adds Bouguer, "in which each of the spectators, seeing his head adorned with a glory formed of three or four concentric crowns of a very vivid colour, each of them presenting varieties similar to those

If these brilliant traits point out the predilection of Nature for Peru, the influence that territory possesses in the equilibrium of the terraqueous globe, is not less demonstrated. According to astronomical observations, and physical demonstrations, the earth does not repose in the centre of the universe, but turns on its axis from the west to the east, and, by a second revolution, runs through all the signs of the Zodiac. By the means of the first of these movements we are stationed in the twilight of the morning ; next, beneath the glare of mid-day ; next, within the confines of night ; and, lastly, we are buried in its shades. This alternation enables us to see daily the magnificent spectacle of the creation of the earth ; since the gently sloping hills, the plains, and the seas, which darkness seemed to have annihilated, rise, in a manner, out of the chaotic void, at the birth of Aurora. By the second movement, we are transported from one region to another ; and when we imagine that we do not quit the first points, relatively to the firmament occupied by Peru at the date of its primitive existence, we live in reality a part of the year in the north, and the other in the south.

Such mutations, which truly appal those who contemplate them, being dependent on the motion of the earth, cannot be

of the first rainbow, tranquilly enjoys the sensible pleasure of reflecting that the brilliant garland he cannot discover in the others, is destined for himself alone." As, at the same time that the sun produces the above-mentioned irises on the vapours which float over the summit of the mountains, its rays, attacked by the continual snows which environ them, are refracted and decomposed, a beautiful throne is formed, calculated to impress the spectator with an idea that he sees before him the Mount Tabor of holy writ.

produced

produced without an exact equilibrium, and unless the northern hemisphere be counterbalanced by the southern. The whole being necessarily subject to the laws by which its parts are governed, the instant the northern pole should preponderate over the southern, a dreadful disorder would seize on the globe; the waters would flow precipitately, to collect in Greenland, Nova Zembla, Russia, and Norway; and, inundating the whole of those countries, as well as that of the Eskimaus, the multitude of lakes, morasses, and accumulations of snow, which would result, would justify more than ever the application of the epithet of Ovid : *omnia pontus erat*. With what surprize we should see the promontories of snow, collected around Cape Horn, pass rapidly along the coasts of the Burning Zone !

The equilibrium established and preserved by that Sovereign Being who created things by number, weight, and measure, of itself maintains its correspondence and harmony. This assertion, deduced both from physics and astronomy, appears to be free from any doubt : it ought therefore to regulate our discourses, and to give a tone to our speculations. On a survey, however, of the history of human discoveries, the facts which ought to correspond with the principles agreed on are not to be met with in the southern hemisphere. Being principally occupied by the ocean, the third part of the territories which lie in the northern hemisphere cannot be found; and as the weight of the earth, the average being taken between the different gravities of the parts of which it is composed, is to that of water, as two to one, it would seem that a sufficient proportion of matter is not to be found in that part of the globe, to counterbalance the one which is opposite.

Philosophers feeling themselves oppressed by the weight of

difficulty, have imagined new lands beneath the antarctic polar circle, and have endeavoured to support their hypotheses by the discoveries of Hawkins, Brovers, De La Roche, &c. With what enthusiasm are they not described by Maupertuis ! and what advantages does he not prognosticate to the hero of the north, provided he should undertake to achieve the conquest of them ! This philosopher may be aptly compared to Anaxarchus the Abderite, whose ravings excited the ambition, and drew forth the tears of Alexander*. The author of the discourse prefixed to the voyage of M. Bougainville to the Malvine Isles, estimates the superficies of the rare continent in question at ten millions of square miles—an extent greater by a million of square miles than that of all the countries hitherto known†. When the immortal Cook approached to ascertain its existence, it vanished like a phantom. The immense and fertile plains of New Zealand will be found to be nothing more than a few small and inclement isles.

In recording the real benefits by which we are surrounded, we shall not have recourse to vague or chimerical ideas. The

* *Dignum fieri existimans, quod cum mundi sint infiniti, nondum unius dominus foret.* Plut. de tranq. an.

† The earth is a sphere, the Equator of which consists of 360 degrees ; consequently, allowing to each degree twenty-five leagues, the result will give to its circumference 9000 ; and as the ratio of the diameter to its circumference is nearly as one to three, the diameter of the earth may be estimated at 3000 leagues. The superficies of a sphere is obtained by multiplying the circumference of its greater circles by its diameters ; therefore, by multiplying 3000 by 9000, it will be found to contain a superficies of about twenty-seven millions of square leagues, deducting the curvature of the mountains. On a comparison of the continents and habitable islands with the seas, it will appear that they scarcely occupy the third part of the globe ; consequently, their entire superficies should be about nine millions of square leagues.

enormous

enormous masses that gravitate on Peru, are those which regulate the equilibrium of the globe. More lofty in comparison to the northern mountains, than is the superb tower to the lowly hut, and constructed of metallic substances from the basis to the summit*, why should they not be able to counter-balance the excess of the territories opposite to those we inhabit? If Chimborazo alone has been capable of measuring its strength with the whole earth, and of giving to the pendulum a divergence of seven seconds and a half from the line, where all the efficacy of the globe directs it to the centre, with how much greater reason ought an entire world of analogous mountains, united to Chimborazo, to equilibrate, not the absolute weight of the globe, nor the northern territories, but, respectively, the sum of the excess of the latter over the southern?

Finally, philosophy requires the equilibrium of the terra-queous globe; navigation denies the existence of new continents beyond Cape Horn; and the ocean cannot compensate the defect. The cordillera of Peru is the largest and most elevated on the surface of the earth; and the masses of which it

* It is the opinion of the celebrated Bouguer, that the solidity of the Cordillera does not correspond with its bulk, on account of the caverns of the volcanoes; these are, however, very small, when compared with the mountains which announce themselves to be solid, and to be every where composed of metallic portions. In the year 1681, a mass of rock having been detached, by the lightning, from the famous Illimani, a mountain of the first magnitude, so large a quantity of gold was extracted from it, that it was sold, in the city of La Paz, at the rate of eight piastres (about 11. 16s. sterling) per ounce, precisely the one half of the then current price of gold in Peru. Notwithstanding the elevation of the above mountain is far greater than that of the Cordillera in general, so as to prevent its mines from being regularly worked, a certain quantity of gold is still extracted from it. Many other mountains might be cited, the silver veins of which are buried in the snow.

is composed, the most solid and ponderous. It is therefore Peru that adjusts and maintains the equilibrium of the globe. Peru, in which the prodigal hand of Nature has stored up all the productions she has dispersed in the vast territories which lie on the other side of the Equator ; Peru, in which, uniting two different worlds, she has raised to herself a temple worthy of her immensity, is what, in the rotations of the terrestrial planet, prevents the ruin of many an opulent kingdom, of many a warlike nation, and of Europe itself, the theatre of the grandeur and wisdom of man.

The following queries relative to the phenomena of the climate of certain districts in Peru, were proposed by an intelligent friend of the Editor to a learned Peruvian residing in the British Capital. The replies, which are subjoined, may tend to illustrate several physical points relative to a country which offers distinct characteristics from the rest of the globe, and which has recently excited a more than common curiosity in the philosophical world.

1. Does it *ever* rain in those parts of Peru which are *commonly* exempt from that phenomenon ?
2. Are those districts uniformly bounded on the east by the mountains ?
3. What is the general height of those mountains ?
4. Does a stratum of clouds, supposed to proceed from the Atlantic Ocean, regularly settle at a particular height on the eastern side of those mountains ?
5. Is that stratum of clouds higher than the vacancies which exist between the several mountains ? and, if so, do the clouds

clouds ever pass between those vacancies, so as to occasion partial showers of rain ?

6. Does the wind never blow from off the Pacific Ocean, upon those districts which are exempt from rain ?

7. If it be so, does it not bring with it clouds from off the Pacific Ocean ? and, if so, what becomes of those clouds ?

8. It is stated, that in the night dews fall which support vegetation in those districts. Have the sources of these dews been ascertained ? Are they the result of evaporation from the soil only, during the heat of the day ; or are they not, on the other hand, partly created by the evaporation from the adjacent seas ?

9. If created by evaporation from the soil, what is the original source of the moisture of the soil ?

10. Are there springs in those districts ? are they numerous and regular ? and what is their source ?

11. Are there rivulets ? and what is their source ?

12. What is the breadth, and what the length, of the countries thus exempt from the phenomenon of rain ?

13. What are the phenomena resulting from its absence ?

14. Do those districts enjoy a perpetually unclouded atmosphere ? Are there rainbows ? Are there any meteors, or falling stars, or thunder and lightning ? And, if these phenomena do exist, are they vertical, or are they not in the vicinity of the mountains ?

15. If the question 13 be not, in its entire sense, applicable to the circumstances, it may further be asked (as Europeans can only ask questions founded on the phenomena of a climate subject to rain), whether there be any phenomena peculiar to the climate which cannot be anticipated *à priori* ?

Replies

Replies to the above questions relative to the different phenomena which are observed in Peru.

Notwithstanding the person who is solicited to make the replies, has not himself been in the low parts of Peru, *where it never rains*, still the communication he has had with several individuals who have resided there for a great length of time, enables him to speak satisfactorily to several of the questions ; and he does this with the greater pleasure, from a conviction that investigations of such a nature tend to the advancement of the natural sciences, and the welfare of the human race.

1. In low Peru, that is, throughout the extent of the occidental coast of South America, situated towards the part of the Andes which takes a western direction, commonly called the valley of Tumbes, comprehended between five and fifteen degrees of south latitude, rain has never been known to fall.

2. The whole of this tract of territory is constantly sheltered from the east winds by the cordilleras of mountains named the Andes.

3. The height of those mountains, employing a mean proportion, is estimated at fifteen thousand feet above the level of the sea ; there are, however, several peaks which rise higher than the rest, and have, unquestionably, an elevation of more than twenty thousand feet.

4. The summits of the above-mentioned mountains are commonly covered with clouds, except during the months of January, February, and March, in the northern part of the cordillera, when it usually happens that the fogs and clouds disappear altogether, the tops of the mountains being covered with snow. The clouds by which they are overspread during
the

the rest of the year, are supposed to be carried thither, by the east winds, from the Atlantic ocean.

5. The clouds which are observed in the Cordilleras, never pass over the frozen peaks noticed in the preceding reply; they ordinarily maintain and support themselves beneath that altitude, dissolving, in the position they have taken, into rain and vapours, frequently accompanied by lightning and terrible bursts of thunder.

6. The winds which constantly blow in the districts where it never rains, are from the south, their course being parallel to the direction of the Cordilleras.

7. These south winds are invariably accompanied by fogs, which deposit themselves in dews in the parts where rain does not fall.

8. This question is answered by the antecedent reply. The earth being there constantly dry, the vapours which occasionally rise out of it are too inconsiderable to be able to support vegetation. Hence it results, that the great dews which are known to fall, arise from the evaporation of the South Sea; the latter are not, however, so considerable as they are thought to be in Europe. Vegetation and culture, in those districts, are alone in perfection in the vallies which enjoy the advantage of a rivulet, or of the branch of a river, by the means of which they may be watered.

9. This question is answered in the preceding reply.

10. and 11. There are many rivulets and small rivers, termed *quebradas*, the whole of which have their origin in the mountains situated in the eastern part of Peru.

12. The length of the district in which it never rains is computed at ten degrees of latitude, each of them containing

twenty maritime leagues. The breadth of this district may be estimated at fifteen leagues, more or less.

13. The phenomenon which results from the want of rain in low Peru, is an atmosphere perpetually loaded with fogs, which melt away into dews, without ever producing the meteors of thunder and lightning, such as are observed in the countries subject to rains, &c.


14. I do not know whether there are any rainbows in the districts referred to. Never having been in that part of the country, I am equally at a loss to reply to several other points in the question. The rest is answered antecedently.

15. I am unacquainted with any phenomena peculiar to Peru, those excepted which have already been recapitulated.

. The answers to the preceding queries may tend to throw further light on a point which has engaged the attention of the philosophic world. The gentleman by whom the queries were proposed, has perhaps justly ascribed the peculiar phenomena of the Peruvian climate to the effect of the Andes mountains on the electricity of the atmosphere. In 1795, he publicly expressed the opinion, that the same effects may be produced artificially on other countries, by the erection of metallic conductors of a sufficient height. The solution of this problem must depend on experiments, the magnitude of which, as well as the expences attendant on them, must be reserved for a future and more philosophic age. In the interim, it is pleasing to contemplate, that, by availing ourselves of the means which Nature has pointed out to us, we might, on this suggestion, be able to convert the variable and fickle atmosphere of Great Britain, into a climate as serene, steady, and beautiful, as that of low Peru.

PART II.

NATURAL HISTORY.



BOTANY.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE PRESENT STATE OF THE BOTANICAL SCIENCE IN PERU.

IN Peru, botany, considered as a science, was in a manner neglected until towards the close of the eighteenth century. The primitive inhabitants, who were fond of agriculture, and of the empiric practice of medicine, applied themselves to the discovery of the virtues of many plants. The doctrine which was handed down from father to son, together with a certain inclination which prompted them to this study, and the high employment it procured them, rendered them excellent herbalists*. The revolutions, however, by which the conquest was

* All the historians agree, on this head. Many years even after the conquest, the Indians had a higher reputation, as to botanical knowledge, than those who professed medicine. In proof of this, may be cited the proceedings of the assembly holden in the Royal University of St. Mark of Lima, in 1637, to discuss the propriety of founding two professorships of medicine. On this occasion, Doctor Alonso De Huerta, gratuitous professor of the Quechua tongue, observed as follows: "They are unnecessary, because in this kingdom there are many medicinal herbs, for a variety of diseases and hurts, with which the Indians are better acquainted than the physicians. They cure themselves with them without having need of physicians; and experience demonstrates to us, that many persons, when given over by the faculty,

was followed, and the mysterious, tenacious, and mistrustful disposition of these Indians*, have deprived us of many advantages which might have resulted from their long experience. On our side, we have not aimed at recovering these advantages, contenting ourselves with the relics which tradition and history have afforded us†. It may be said, that the

faculty, set out for Cercado and Surco" (Indian villages, the former contiguous to, and the other at a small distance from Lima), "to be cured by Indian men and women, and recover the health which their physicians could not give them." The progress made by the Indians in the knowledge of medicinal plants, was in a great measure owing to the prospect this acquirement held out to them, of being appointed physicians to the Yncas, and distinguished personages; a dignity which did not allow them to debase themselves by practising among the common people. The law which expressly enjoined that no one should be idle, and that those, among the people, who were not skilled in agriculture or in warfare, should become herbalists to aid the sick, was equally favourable to this study. For these reasons, we ought to consider the Indians as the fathers and founders of the botany of Peru.

* The obstinacy with which the Indians endeavoured to conceal their acquirements from the Europeans, may be collected from a document, by Pedro De Osma, dated at Lima, 1568. In this paper he states, that having left his house, in company with several friends, with a view to discover the part in which the bezoar stone is engendered in the vicunas, the Indians not only refused to answer the different questions which were proposed to them on this subject, but likewise would not consent to disclose the secret of the poison they carried about them. *Si quidquam de lapidibus scire negabant, ut sunt nobis infestissimi, nec sua secreta nobis innotescere vellent.* These secrets having, however, been revealed by a young Indian aged ten or twelve years, his countrymen expressed a wish to cut off his head. Osma took him under his protection; but having afterwards neglected the necessary precautions for his security, he fell into the hands of the Indians, by whom he was sacrificed.

† Cieza, Gomara, and Zarate, were the earliest historians who attempted to give a few notices relative to the esculent and medicinal plants of Peru. Garcilaso, Don Antonio Pinelo, and Calancha, followed them with more precision, and with a greater length of detail. With the historians we may connect the poets: among ours, the only one who has treated this subject is Don Pedro De Peralta, in his work entitled *Lima Fundada*.

greater

greater part of the territory we inhabit, has been as unknown to us as are Persia and China.

Europe, mistress of the nations by which the rest of the globe is peopled, has not neglected these countries, but has sent her naturalists to examine them. The travellers, however, who perambulated the Peruvian territory with this intention, prior to the year 1770, made but small advancements in knowledge. The more ancient of them, for want of a due method in arranging their collections, were obliged to bring them within a very narrow compass, to avoid confusion*. Those who succeeded them, although possessed of all the requisite notions to class and arrange a great number of specimens, did not profit adequately by their talents, either because they limited their inquiries exclusively to the coast†, or if

* Among these travellers, the first, in point of time, is the before-mentioned Pedro De Osma, by profession a soldier, who visited Peru a very short time after the conquest. He described several plants in such a way as to prove that he was not deficient in talents. The second is Father Joseph De Acosta, whose natural history has procured him the title of the Spanish Pliny. He came to Peru about the year 1572, that is, forty years after the death of Atahualpa, the event by which the epoch of the conquest is established. The third is Doctor Mathias De Porres, physician to the household of the then viceroy of Peru, somewhere about the year 1615. He wrote a work on the virtues of all the fruits and seeds of this kingdom, which was printed at Lima in 1621. He was likewise the author of another work, entitled *Concordancias Medicinales* (Medicinal Concordances), in which he touched on many of the plants of Peru that possess particular virtues. The fourth and fifth are the Licentiates Calderon and Robles, who wrote, in conjunction, a treatise on the plants of Peru.

† In the years 1709-10 and 11, Father Louis Feuillé made several excursions along the coasts of Peru, and delineated and described, according to the system of Tournefort, many of the plants which are there found, as may be seen in his diaries.

they

they penetrated into the interior, it was solely to experience the grief and mortification of losing the fruits of their precious labours*.

The year 1778 may be considered as fixing the epoch of the botany of Peru. In the course of that year, the expedition fitted out by command of the Spanish monarch, Charles III. to observe, discover, and derive advantage from the productions which the vegetable kingdom affords in that part of his dominions, reached Peru. It consisted of three sexual botanists, namely, Don Joseph Pabon, for the Court of Madrid ; M. Dombey, for that of Paris ; and Don Hypolito Ruiz, who may justly be denominated the Linnæus of Peru ; aided by several other botanists. The expedition having been concluded, Don Juan Tafaya, and Don Francisco Pulgar, were left behind, to continue the researches, and to found the botanical garden of Lima. It was then that, not merely the plains of the inhabited part of Peru, but likewise the never before explored mountains of the Andes, that rich treasury of the gifts of Nature, in which she has displayed all the powers

* In the year 1736, the celebrated expedition undertaken with a view to measure the terrestrial degrees beneath the Equator, consisting of the academicians of Paris, Godin, Bouguer, and Condamine, and of Don Juan and Don Antonio De Ulloa, arrived at Peru. M. Jussieu was attached to the academicians in quality of botanist, and M. De Morainville in quality of draughtsman. The former, after having devoted infinite pains and labour to the botany of Peru, on his return to Europe, was plundered, at Buenos-Ayres, of his drawings and specimens, by the boy who attended him, and who fancied that the trunk in which they were contained was replete with treasure. Having been thus deprived of the valuable fruits of his industry and consummate knowledge, he was under the necessity of returning to Lima ; but his advanced time of life, and the effect of the fatigues of his continual excursions, prevented him from repairing his loss.

of her inexhaustible fecundity, were investigated with a nice and scrutinizing eye. It would seem as if, in opposition to art, she has been desirous to manifest, on these mountains, that she needs not the aid of the feeble arm of man, to shew the extent of her vigour and magnificence. Ten years of unceasing application, and of profound study, have been followed by the acquisition of immense botanical riches, and have supplied, in the mother country, the materials for the great work entitled the Flora of Peru.

Emulous of the glory and virtues of his august father, the present sovereign of Spain has afforded an equal protection to natural history. A new expedition, commanded by Don Alexandro Malespina, reached Peru in 1790, and explored, as well by sea as by land, every part of the kingdom, principally with a view to accelerate the progress then making in botanical researches*. At the same time, the best adapted means have

* The results of this expedition have been highly beneficial to Peru, as well with respect to navigation, as to a more perfect knowledge of the political and civil state of the kingdom, its agriculture, commerce, mineralogy, and, lastly, natural history. Don Antonio Pineda y Ramirez, commandant of the Spanish guards, who may justly be entitled the Waller of Peru, has particularly directed his investigations to lithology, tetrapodology, ornithology, ichthyology, and chemistry. Don Tadeo Haëncke, and Don Louis Néé, have undertaken the entire department of botany. The former was the disciple of the celebrated Jacquin. His disquisitions on metallurgy, mineralogy, entomology, &c. in which he has united to the vivacity natural to his time of life, an uncommon share of information, as well theoretical as practical, have done him infinite credit. Don Louis Néé, who possesses equal intelligence and activity, although more advanced in years, has enriched botany with the fruit of his laborious inquiries.

In the historical sketch of the botany of Peru in which we are engaged, we have merely

have been resorted to, to found a professorship, and augment the collections in the botanic garden of the Capital. Our indefatigable botanist, aided by the skilful draughtsman, Don Francisco Pulgar, is unceasingly occupied, and keeps up a constant communication between the mountains, Lima, and Madrid. The Flora of Peru, augmented by new and continual supplies, will be an eternal monument of the wisdom and magnificence of two sovereigns; a rich accumulation of the treasures of the vegetable kingdom; and the most authentic testimony to prove, that Peru does not abound less in exquisite plants, than in precious metals.

Let it not, however, be thought, that the inestimable collections we have cited, have already exhausted the productions of that nature. The unknown and rare plants which grow on the borders of the Andes, would of themselves form a catalogue. The want of tracks to penetrate into the spacious levels these mountains contain, and to examine the directions of the rivulets and streams by which they are intersected, is an insuperable obstacle to the exact inquiries which, it is trusted,

merely pointed out the professors and men of science whom we have ascertained to have been in this kingdom, without noticing those who, in Europe or elsewhere, have treated the subject. We shall conclude by citing the distinguished personages by whom the science is protected, and whose names will be transmitted to posterity by the plants which have been dedicated to them. They are as follows: Father Francisco Gonzales Laguna, to whose care the foundation and direction of the botanical garden of Lima have been entrusted. Don Hypolito Ruiz has dedicated to him the *Gonzaletia dependens*, which inhabits the mountains. Doctor Cosme Bueno, principal cosmographer of Peru, to whom the same botanist has dedicated the *Cosmea balsamifera*, commonly called *Limoncillo*. And, lastly, Doctor Gabriel Moreno, a physician of Lima, to whom M. Dombey has dedicated the *Peruana-Morena*, vulgarly called *Rosario* in the district of Chauchin, where it is indigenous.

will

will one day be instituted under more propitious circumstances. It will be seen, in a subsequent part of this work, that a considerable progress has already been made, in exploring several of the Andes mountains, and rendering them of easier access.

The benefits which will accrue to the arts and sciences, from the labours of Don Juan Tafaya, and the lucubrations of the Academical Society of Lima, are incalculable. Agriculture will be ameliorated by the lights which will be thrown on it, and will cease to be neglected, as it has, unfortunately, hitherto been. The commerce of Peru will consequently be augmented, as well by the increase of agricultural produce, as by the discovery of vegetables calculated to nourish and promote the breeds of quadrupeds*. This observation applies equally to the plants and shrubs for dyeing, and other purposes, the catalogue of which will be proportionately enlarged†. The limits of natural history, physics, and medicine, will be extended; and the latter science will more especially be enriched, not only by new specifics, but likewise by the knowledge of plants, hitherto neglected among

* In the plains of Bombon is found a herb, named by the Indians *callua-callua*, which being given every third day to sheep, beginning three months before the shearing time, augments very considerably the growth of their wool. The *hualgua*, or *barba jovis*, a species of *psoralea*, is highly efficacious as a preservative against the rot in sheep.

† Among the indigenous shrubs which grow spontaneously on the mountains of Peru, is that which bears the coffee. It was discovered in the year 1785, by the Peruvian botanists, Ruiz and Pavon, at the foot of the mountain of Carpis, in the province of Huanuco. The coffee, when prepared, was found to be of an excellent quality.

us, which may be profitably substituted to those brought from Europe*.

Such are the advantages which the study of botany holds out to the convenience, the intelligence, and the innocent recreation of man. The Peruvian territory is replete with the productions of the vegetable kingdom; and when the acknowledged talents of the native Peruvians, in whatever regards natural history†, are considered, there is not any reason to doubt but that every progress will be made in botanic researches.

A fact connected with the botany of Peru ought not to be passed over in this place. It is well known that the animals named llamas, pacos, vicunas, and huanacos, are natives of the lofty mountains of Peru; but a singular particular, which has not been adverted to by any naturalist, is, that although the above mountains extend, under the denomination of Cordilleras, to ten degrees of north latitude, with pretty nearly the same proportions of elevation, cold, &c. these animals do not pass from the line towards the north, and are consequently not to be found in the provinces of Quito, Santa Fé, &c. where the climate, of the mountains at least, is ana-

* In Peru there are several kinds of *hypericum*, *senna*, valerian, &c. which are employed with efficacy by the Indians in several of their establishments in Sierra, but which are rejected in the Capital, where a blind preference is given to those imported from distant countries.

† Franco Davila, a native of Peru, rendered himself celebrated in Paris by his cabinet of natural history, the descriptive catalogue of which, published by him, is justly appreciated by the learned world. After a residence of twenty years in the French capital, he passed to Madrid, by order of Charles III. of Spain, and there founded the cabinet of natural history, of which he had the direction until his death.

logous to that of high Peru, in which latter territory the animals in question live naturally, and multiply their species. The sole reason, it would appear, which can be adduced, to account for this extraordinary circumstance, is that, throughout the whole extent of the northern mountains of the Cordillera, a kind of pasture which the Peruvian naturalists name *ycho*, or *ychu*, and which is denominated by the authors of the *Flora of Peru* *xarava*, is not to be found. This plant belongs to the gramineous tribe, and appears to be the natural food of the vicunas, huanacos, &c. It is extremely abundant in the mountains of Peru; but in those of Quito, Santa Fé, &c. naturalists have not hitherto succeeded in ascertaining its presence.

ZOOLOGY.

UNDER this head, the llama, referred to above, is introduced in *Plate II*. To shew the diversity of colour, the artist has copied two of these animals from the Peruvian painting by which the different engravings contained in this work are supplied. As they were brought to the Capital, Lima, from the mine territory, to be exhibited in an Indian procession, they are laden with bars of silver, in allusion to that circumstance. The natural history of this animal is too well known to need any particular mention in this place; but a few words may be offered relatively to the vicuna, another animal of the same species, which supplies the vicuna wool. To obtain this, the Indians hunt down and destroy these animals, insomuch, that it is probable the race will one day become extinct in Peru. If, as is confidently asserted by many intelligent natives of

that country, the vicuna can, like the llama, be tamed and domesticated, flocks may be collected to open a new speculation to the cultivator, and to afford the prospect of great commercial benefits to the community.

ANTHROPOLOGY.

ACCOUNT OF TWO PERUVIAN GIANTS.

GIANTS and dwarfs are antipodal nations, the existence of which is still problematical to philosophers and naturalists. The enormous bulk which several voyagers have ascribed to the Patagonians, is as much doubted as the diminutive stature of the Indians who inhabit the mountains of Madagascar. On a survey of the different parts of the globe, it will be found that South America is the country which affords the greatest number of testimonies in favour of the former. The histories which ancient traditions have handed down, relate that, in the primitive ages, a certain race of men, who, from the knee downward, measured as much in length as a man of the highest stature measures in his whole body, landed at the point of St. Helena. The sepulchres discovered on the coasts of Peru, and those of the provinces of Chichas and Tarija, bestow some colour of probability on these narrations. In the cabinet of natural history now forming at Lima*, is deposited a tooth (one of the molares, or grinders) of a mummy dis-

* In the year 1792.

covered in Tarija, which weighs a pound and a half* : consequently, the mummy from which it was extracted must have possessed a much greater bulk than the skeleton dug up by Habicot, who asserts that it measured in length twenty-five feet and a half†. Perhaps the Patagonians who have been described,

* The very respectable person who was originally possessed of the above-mentioned tooth, and whose veracity cannot be called in question, has assured us, that the body from which it was extracted, was conveyed, at a great expence, and with infinite care, from Tarija to Cusco, by the Marquis of Valle-Umbroso, who caused it to be shipped for Madrid ; but that it was intercepted on the passage by the English, by whom it was conveyed to London. *If, perchance, the Peruvian Mercury should reach that Capital*, we request to know, through the medium of the Philosophical Transactions, whether the giant thus intercepted wants the tooth in question. Father Francisco Gonzales Laguna possessed a tooth of the same kind, brought from the above province of Tarija, which weighed more than five pounds, notwithstanding several portions of the fangs had been broken off. It was sent to the cabinet of Madrid.

As the spots of South America in which these relics are found are level grounds, and as they have not hitherto been discovered in the more elevated and mountainous parts of Peru, the opinion of Haller, that those who inhabit the plains are of larger stature than those by whom the mountains are peopled, seems to be confirmed. It may be urged, however, that these are not the remains of rational, but of irrational creatures, not terrestrial, there-being no records of any such, of enormous bulk, before the conquest of Peru by the Spaniards, but marine, as they were left by the universal deluge. Consenting, in the first instance, to this opinion, we shall proceed to ask, why these skeletons are not found in the deep cavities of the mountainous territory, where it is more natural to suppose that the bodies would have been deposited, to perish and decay, on the retirement of the waters?

† Daubenton, in controverting the relation of Habicot, principally founds his objections on the disproportion of the limbs of the giant described by the latter. For instance, to a height of twenty-five feet and a half, he allows a breadth of ten feet to the shoulders. "An unheard-of disproportion," observes Daubenton: "a human skeleton of five feet in height, has not a breadth of more than thirteen inches ; consequently,

described, and whose stature has been estimated at from nine to thirteen feet, were the descendants of those formidable giants, who, having landed at the point of St. Helena, proceeded to the Magellanic land, propagating their species.

For these reasons, it is not inexpedient that we who inhabit the part of the globe which, in preceding ages, was peopled with giants, should exercise our pen in the solution of the problem on their existence. As, however, a subject which has been elucidated by Jaucourt, Sir Hans Sloane, Buffon, Haller, Torrubia, Daubenton, &c. cannot be treated without a sufficient number of new testimonies, to be adduced in support of the ideas and conceptions which require time to be duly weighed and examined, not to deprive our readers, in the interim, of the pleasure afforded by the marvellous, we

sequently, a skeleton of twenty-five feet ought not to have, at the shoulders, a breadth of more than five feet, three inches. Now, a breadth of ten feet supposes a giant fifty feet in height." We shall not undertake to justify Habicot's relation; but it appears to us, that the argument which is opposed to him has little or no weight. In giants, as well as in dwarfs, that skilful and beautiful symmetry which Nature displays in the rest of her works, is not to be sought. They are varieties, or, it may be said, monstrous productions, which deviate from the natural order; and it would be therefore unreasonable to deny the existence of men of a very gigantic stature, because they do not observe a proportion in their limbs. If the mode of reasoning adopted by Daubenton were to be followed, it might likewise be said that the relation of Basilio Huaylas, in this article, is not founded in truth, on this account, that the three feet, or nearly, given to the breadth of his shoulders, do not correspond with seven feet in height, but rather with twelve. Again, if the measures were to be deduced from his hands and fingers, he would scarcely be allowed a height of from five to five feet and a half, since neither does the palm of the hand correspond with the length of the arm, nor still less the fingers, which, although thick, are very short.

shall

shall proceed to a description of Basilio Huaylas, of enormous stature, who was brought from the city of Ica to Lima, in the month of May 1792, to be exhibited as a spectacle to the inhabitants.

Before, however, we touch on the subject of this giant, whom we have seen, it will not be foreign to our purpose to cite the following extract of a letter from Santa Fé de Bogota, relative to another prodigy of the same description. "His Excellency the Viceroy of this kingdom (New Granada) has embarked for Spain a labourer in the mines, named Pedro Cano, aged twenty-one years, who, until the age of fifteen years, grew moderately, but who has, since that epoch, attained the gigantic stature of seven feet, five inches, three lines and a half, Spanish measure. Such was the poverty of this Indian in his primitive condition, that he had never worn shoes; but on his arrival at Santa Fé, decency required that he should be furnished with a pair, which measured half a yard in length."

To proceed to Basilio Huaylas. This Indian, a native of the province of Castro-Virreyna, aged twenty-four years, is pretty nearly of the same stature with the giant Pedro Cano. His height is seven Castillian feet, two inches, and a few lines. His limbs are out of all due proportion: from the waist upward they are monstrous. The head occupies about one-third; the shoulders have a breadth of five-sixths of an ell; and the arms are so long, that when our giant stands erect, the points of the fingers touch the knees. From the waist downward, the limbs are of smaller proportions. The right leg is an inch shorter than the left; a defect which is said to have arisen from a blow which Huaylas received in his infancy.

fancy. In the generality of giants, the bones of the legs do not enlarge in proportion : being unable, on this account, to support the heavy weight of the body, the inferior extremities become crooked and enfeebled*. It was thus that the legs of the giant described by Haller were weak and mis-shapen; and those of our giant come under the same description. Notwithstanding they are, comparatively speaking, small, his feet may be brought in competition with those of Pedro Cano. The total weight of his body is fourteen arrobas and a half, or three hundred and sixty-two pounds.

Basilio Huaylas, the Peruvian giant, is represented in *Plate III.* As it would be difficult, from the singularity of his proportions, to form any clear judgment of his size, without a figure of comparison, a musician is introduced, holding a harp, as portrayed in the original painting from which the subjects are taken.

One of the reasons which have been adduced, to throw doubts on the existence of gigantic nations, is the want of the productions requisite to their support. To each individual an apple would be a cherry, and a melon an apple. It would therefore be necessary that they should possess the revenues of the Emperor Maximinus, whose ordinary meal consisted of forty pounds of meat, as many of bread, and thirty-six bottles of wine; and that the rest of the inhabitants of the earth should be employed in administering to their insatiable appetites, as happened to the countrymen of a certain glutton,

* According to the calculation of Muschenbroeck, it is necessary that the growth of the bones of a giant should be in a duplex ratio to the excess they have in length, to preserve the same degree of force. See the introduction to the *Natural History of Man*, by Daubenton.

named



Basilio Huaylas, the Peruvian giant.)

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named Albinus, who devoured, without rising from table, a hundred peaches, ten melons, five hundred figs, and twelve dozen and a half of oysters.

Huaylas is not of this class. He eats moderately, and less than the greater part of the multitude of sensualists who inhabit Lima. It is true, that he is an Indian ; and that the Indians are the most frugal people in existence, when they have to maintain themselves. We do not know what would be the result, if he were to be nourished at the expence of others ; for in that case the most diminutive Indian has the swallow of a giant.

To what degree of height this name is applicable, has not hitherto been determined : but as it is generally considered by naturalists, that those who rise above six feet are men of a large stature, Basilio Huaylas may augment the number of giants, without the necessity of his attaining the size of Tiphœus, the son of Juno, who, according to Apollodorus, touched the stars with his head, and with his outstretched arms the east and the west.

PART III.

MINERALOGY.

ENUMERATION OF THE MINES OF DIFFERENT METALS IN THE VICE-ROYALTY OF PERU.

IN the intendency of Lima, with its dependency of Guaro-chiri, there are four mines of gold ; one hundred and thirty-one of silver ; one of quicksilver ; and four of copper ; all of which were worked in 1791, when this enumeration was taken. Seventy silver mines had then, for various reasons, been abandoned.

In the intendency of Tarma, with its dependencies of Pasco and Huallanca, two hundred and twenty-seven mines of silver were wrought, and twenty-one were in a neglected state. There were, besides, two lead mines, which yielded an abundant supply of that metal.

In the intendency of Truxillo, with its dependency of Chota, of three gold mines two were worked. One hundred and thirty-four silver mines were also worked ; and no less than one hundred and sixty-one abandoned.

In the intendency of Huamanga, with its dependency of Lucanos, sixty mines of gold, one hundred and two of silver, and one of quicksilver, were wrought. Of the first of these metals, three mines had been abandoned ; and of the second, sixty-three.

In the intendency of Cuzco, with its dependency of Curahuasi,

huasi, the only mines which had been discovered at that time were of silver. They were nineteen in number, and were all of them successfully wrought.

In the intendency of Arequipa, with its dependency of Caylloma, one mine of gold, and seventy-one of silver were wrought. Of the former metal four mines had been abandoned; and of the latter, twenty-eight.

In the intendency of Guantajaya, with its dependency of Tacna, one mine of gold, and twenty of silver, were wrought; at the same time that no less a number than nineteen of the former metal had been abandoned. Thirty mines of silver were in the latter state.

In the intendency of Huancavelica, with its dependencies of Castrovirreyna and Lircay, one mine of gold, eighty of silver, two of quicksilver, and ten of lead, were worked. Two of gold, and two hundred and fifteen of silver, were in an abandoned state. The multiplicity of unserviceable silver mines may be accounted for by the abundance of water, in the districts in which they are situated, having gained on them from time to time, so as at length to have choked them completely.

From the above statement it results, that in the eight intendencies into which the viceroyalty of Peru is divided, there were, in the year 1791, sixty-nine serviceable mines of gold, seven hundred and eighty-four of silver, four of quicksilver, four of copper, and twelve of lead; at the same time that twenty-nine gold, and five hundred and eighty-eight silver mines had, by various accidents and casualties, been rendered unserviceable. In this statement the mines contained in the kingdom of Quito, and in the viceroyalty of Buenos-

Ayres, although these domains may be considered as constituting a part of the Peruvian territory, are not comprehended.

During a space of ten years, from the commencement of 1780 to the end of 1789, the above mines yielded thirty-five thousand three hundred and fifty-nine marks of gold, twenty-two carats fine ; and three millions seven hundred and thirty-nine thousand seven hundred and sixty-three marks of silver*. In the year 1790, the silver mines yielded four hundred and twelve thousand one hundred and seventeen marks of that metal ; being an excess of thirty-eight thousand one hundred and forty-seven marks over the average produce of the ten antecedent years.

It would appear that the mines of Mexico are much more productive than those of Peru, since in the above year of 1790, which was far from being reckoned one of the best, five thousand and twenty-four marks of gold, and two millions one hundred and seventy-nine thousand four hundred and fifty-five marks of silver, the produce of the mines, were coined in the Royal Mint of Mexico. The proportion of silver was consequently in the ratio of more than five to one greater than that afforded by the Peruvian mines.

* The mark of gold being estimated at a hundred and twenty-five piastres, and that of silver at eight piastres, the total amount, in sterling money, of the produce of the mines, during the above ten years, will be found to have been of the value of 7,703,545*l*.

HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY OF LAURI-COCHA, VULGARLY DENOMINATED PASCO.

NATURE, constantly admirable in her combinations, has counterpoised the value of her benefits with the difficulty of acquiring them. In conformity to this law, the oyster sinks into the abyss of the ocean, and clings to the sunken shelf, to hide the precious pearl it contains. The diamond is formed in the hard substance of the rock, or in the sandy beach, which the impetuous torrent laves. Gold and silver, those representatives of all human riches, independently of their stores being hidden in the bowels of the earth, are not in general produced unless in the most rigid temperatures, and in the most deserted soils. The richest mines are those which are comprehended in the rugged contexture of mountains seldom divested of snow, and surrounded by the dismal prospect of a steril and naturally uninhabitable country. Potosi, Cailoma, Piedra-Parada, Pasco, &c. may be adduced in proof of this assertion. It is, however, best evinced by the latter, the description of which follows.

This mineral territory is properly entitled the mountain of St. Stephen of Lauri-Cocha. It is situated at the northern extremity of the plains of Bombon, and is surrounded by other small mountains which constitute a part of the great Cordillera. Its soil is unfertile, and the climate extremely rigid. The barley, the only grain that springs up, which is there sown, does not ripen in the blade. Rains and snows fall constantly during six months of the year; and the other six are marked by severe frosts, with storms of thunder at intervals.

The

The discovery of these mines was accidental, and occurred, as appears by documents preserved in the archives of Lima, somewhere about the year 1630.

An Indian, named Huari-Capcha, led his flock to pasture on the heights, and being obliged to pass the night in that situation, sought shelter behind one of them. He kindled a large fire, and was greatly surprized, at break of day, when he perceived, among the ashes, several grains of melted silver. Contrary to the received usage of the Indians, he communicated this intelligence to Don Juan De Ugarte, a rich proprietor residing in the vale of Huariaca, who proceeded immediately to explore the heights. On and near the spot where the fire had melted the metallic substance, he found passages leading to several mines, which were afterwards wrought with the greatest success.

The fame of the mines of Ugarte drew thither a considerable number of persons, whose enthusiasm inspired them with the courageous resolution to establish themselves on those wild and dreary heaths, which seemed to be solely destined for the abode of wild beasts. In a little time, a Spanish settlement was formed, where before not a hut was to be seen to afford shelter to a solitary Indian.

At that time there were in the province of Conchucos, a royal chest and establishment, not only for the collection of the tributes, but likewise for the management and direction of a rich mine of silver, which was worked on the account of his Catholic Majesty. About the year 1600, the above mine became useless; on which account the royal chest was transferred to Huanuco; and, subsequently, in 1669, to the city of Pasco,

Pasco, distant two leagues from the mountain of Lauri-Cocha. Finally, in 1785, the royal chest which had been established at Atun-Jauja, was united to that of Pasco.

With what success the mines of Lauri-Cocha were wrought, after the abundant stores of wealth they yielded in the first instance, has not been ascertained ; but it is certain, that this mineral territory was at length exposed to the calamity which has attended almost all the others : the greater part of the mines were overflowed, and rendered unserviceable.

Don Martin De Retuerto, proprietor of the mine particularly denominated Lauri-Cocha, caused an aperture to be made at the foot of the mountain, and was the first to ascertain the true direction of the metallic veins. He was extremely successful at the commencement ; but was soon under the necessity of abandoning his enterprize. The irruption of the waters prevented almost entirely the working of the mine. The same fatality attended several other miners who engaged in the same task.

Colonel Don Joseph De Maiz y Arcas, having purchased, in the year 1758, of the heirs of Retuerto, the above-mentioned mine of Lauri-Cocha, had another opening made near the same spot. To effect this was the work of two years ; and it answered the intention so well, that this mine alone afforded annually from sixty to eighty thousand marks of silver. By the help of engines, the successive opposition of other inundations was overcome, until the decease of this very intelligent miner, when, through the neglect of his executors, the mine was, as well as those adjacent to it, completely filled with water.

As the mines of Santa Rosa and Caya were in the same state,

state, it seemed as if this calamity was about to bury all the riches of the mountain. The miners were obliged to scrape together the little ore they could find at the orifices of the mines ; but had the mortification to discover that it did not repay the trouble and expence of refining. Those who were interested now formed a junction, and agreed to make an opening in the inferior part of the mineral rock of Santa Rosa. The execution of this plan was confided to Don Felix De Ijurra, a very skilful miner, whose zeal, probity, and experience had already been evinced by several undertakings of a similar nature in which he had been engaged. Amid the difficulties which Nature opposed at every step, and what was more, having to supply with his own private purse the deficiencies of many of the subscribers, Don Ijurra at length completed his undertaking, drained off the water which had found its way into the mines of Santa Rosa, and, in a manner, gave new life to the whole of the mineral territory. The prosecution of this scheme was aided by all the influence of Don Francisco Cuellar, then governor of Tarma. The wise provisions of Don Juan De Galvez, lieutenant-governor of those provinces*, have perfected this task, as honourable to the co-operators, as it has been useful to the state.

With a view to drain off the water, a new aperture has been recently made, at a great expence, in the inferior part of the mine of Lauri-Cocha. The expectations of the proprietors are already in a great measure realized. The ores of this very productive mine are cineritious, and of a colour

* In 1792.

inclining to blue. They yield a greater proportion of silver than any others which have hitherto been discovered in Peru.

The mountainous and mineral territory which is under consideration, being taken in its whole extent, consists of the above-mentioned mines of Santa Rosa and Lauri-Cocha, together with those of Yanacancha, Caya, Cheupimarca, and Pariajilca. That of Cheupimarca, although replete with rich ores, has been but little worked, in consequence of the water having gained on it at the commencement. The ores extracted from these mines are of a yellow colour with reddish spots, and commonly yield from six to twelve marks per caxon*. A bank, commonly denominated the *royal mantle*, stretches over a territory of upwards of a league and a half in circumference; and it therefore happens that the mines are not limited to the direction of the veins. In the year 1789, from fifteen to sixteen thousand caxons of ore were extracted; and about a hundred and twenty thousand marks of silver refined in the royal foundery of Pasco.

To the west of the mineral territory, at the distance of two leagues and a half, lies the mountain of Raco, having the form of a cylinder truncated at the point. It is entirely composed of white granite, which, on being thrown into water, changes its colour to a dusky blue. It is of a very firm texture, is named *ala-de-mosca*, and is of great utility in the construction of buildings.

The river which runs through the above territory, and which extends from six to seven leagues, branches off into

* The mark weighs half a pound, and the caxon contains two tons and a half.

several smaller rivers, among which are those of Sullumarca, Quinua, &c. There are, besides, a variety of lakes, formed by the rains, which, as well as the rivers above cited, are highly conducive to the operations of the miners. It ought, however, to be remarked, that the lakes have greatly contributed to the inundation of the mines.

ACCOUNT OF THE

QUICKSILVER MINE OF HUANCVELICA.

UNTIL about the middle of the sixteenth century, the method of refining silver by the means of amalgamation, or by the incorporation of mercury with the particles of that metal contained in the pulverized ores, was not perfectly known. The usual mode of refining was anteriorly reduced to a fusion effected by means more or less complicated, or to the trituration of the ores, and the deposition of the metallic particles in hydrostatic machines. Pedro Fernandez Velasco was the first to employ mercury in the refining of silver, in the year 1571; and to this respectable Spaniard America is indebted for the progress which, in pursuance of the track he struck out, has been since made in the science of mineralogy.

The mine of Huancavelica was discovered about the year 1566. It is of little import whether this discovery originated in a lump of crystallized cinnabar, accidentally found by Enrique Garces, a Portuguese, in the hand of an Indian; or whether a portion of that substance fell, by a fortunate casualty,

casualty, in the way of Navincopa, a domestic belonging to Amador Cabrera. It is certain that in the month of September, 1570, Philip II. of Spain, purchased this mine of the above-mentioned Amador Cabrera, and that the different processes employed in working it, were immediately undertaken by the superintendant, Don Pedro De Los Rios. The first governor was Don Francisco De Angulo, during whose administration, which lasted five years, from 1571 to 1576, upwards of nine thousand quintals of mercury were extracted*. The mine of Huancavelica has continued to be the exclusive property of the crown.

In the year 1735, the political system of its government was changed. It had before been confided to one of the members of the Royal Audience of Lima; but was at length invested in a particular governor, who had nothing in common with his predecessors, except the title of superintendant. About the middle of the year 1790, the superintendency was taken from the then governor, and united to the titles and domination of the viceroyalty of Lima. From the epoch of the discovery of this very valuable mine, up to the date of 1792, there were sixty-six governors, comprehending Don Manuel Ruiz De Castilla, who then held that employment.

In the course of the two hundred and nineteen years, from the earliest fusion of the ores contained in this mine, to the close of the year 1789, one million forty thousand four hundred

* The greatest quantity of mercury extracted in a given space of time, was under the government of Don Martin De Valanzequi. In the interval of two years, from 1646 to 1648, the mine yielded between seventeen and eighteen thousand quintals of that metal.

dred and fifty-two quintals, twenty-five pounds, and two ounces of mercury were extracted, and lodged in the royal magazines. This amount being divided among the aforesaid two hundred and nineteen years, will give to each of them an average product of four thousand seven hundred and fifty quintals, twenty-nine pounds, and five ounces*.

Under the head of charges and disbursements, eight millions two hundred and eighty thousand six hundred piastres were expended on the mine, and on the processes for the extraction, fusion, &c. of the ores, between the years 1571 and 1748. From the last date to the end of the year 1789, it appears, by the entries made in the royal books, that there has been an expenditure of the gross sum of two millions three hundred and four thousand two hundred and forty-five piastres, and four reals. The total amount of ten millions five hundred and eighty-seven thousand eight hundred and forty-five piastres four reals, being divided among the two hundred and nineteen years, will allow to each of them a sum of expenditure equal to forty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-six piastres, two reals and a half.

The price of quicksilver has been subject to many variations. In the year 1786, this metal produced sixty piastres per quintal; and rose gradually to seventy-three, which was its current value at the commencement of 1791. There have been times when it has been still dearer, and other moments when it has even brought less than the former of the above prices, accord-

* From the 1st of January 1790, to the end of August of the same year, when Don Pedro De Tagle y Bracho resigned his intendency of this mine, one thousand four hundred and six quintals only were extracted.

ing to the correspondences the mine has kept up with the interior ; to the ratio of the charges incurred in working it ; and, lastly, to the abundance or scarcity of the extracted ore. By estimating, however, the above cited quantity of one million forty thousand four hundred and fifty-two quintals, twenty-five pounds, and two ounces, of mercury extracted from the mine, at the fair average of the different prices at which it has been sold, it will be found to have yielded a total produce of the value of sixty-seven millions six hundred and twenty-nine thousand three hundred and ninety-six piastres, and two reals*.

In this concise statement, care has been taken to correct the erroneous notices, relatively to the mine of Huancavelica, which have been published by various historians and geographers†, at the same time that much novel information has been added.

In the city of Huancavelica there is a fountain of hot water, which has a petrific quality, and is considered as a great curiosity in the country.

* By deducting the expenditures, as above stated, and estimating the piastre, or dollar, at four shillings and sixpence English, it will be found that the mine of Huancavelica has yielded to Spain nearly thirteen millions sterling in the above space of time. It enjoys the exclusive privilege of supplying to the proprietors of the gold and silver mines of Peru, the quicksilver employed in the extraction of the metals from the ores.

† Among the writers who have published defective and erroneous information on this head, may be cited M. Berenger, in his continuation of Busching ; the authors of the *Encyclopedie Methodique* ; those of the *Encyclopedie de Geographie* ; Echart, &c. &c.

CONDITION OF THE MINERS OF PERU.

THE following correspondence, addressed to the Academical Society of Lima, tends to throw much light on the condition of the Peruvian miners, and on the internal economy of the mines. The first letter is from an individual of the above profession, who stiles himself Egerio Chrysoforo, and is to this effect.

“ Mexico has constantly flourished by her mines; while Peru can scarcely maintain herself by hers, notwithstanding they are richer and more numerous. This diversity of successes, in the same order of causes, proceeds solely from the different estimation in which the pursuit is held in each of these kingdoms. In Mexico, a merchant, or an adventurer, advances, on the bare word of the miner, from fifty to a hundred piastres, towards the exploration of a mine, and receives, without abandoning the speculation, the information that the vein has been missed. In Peru, on the other hand, an *habilitador** has scarcely advanced a sum of ten or twelve piastres, if he can even be prevailed on to supply so much, than he wishes both the miner and his mines to be ground in the mill for the pulverization of the ores, to the end that the *pina* may be secured to him, and his eventual profits ascertained.

“ The enemies of the body of miners seek to justify them-

* The *habilitadores*. are speculators who establish themselves in the vicinity of the mines, to make advances to the miners. They are repaid in the *pina*, that is, the silver, after it has been freed from the mercury with which it was amalgamated, without having been fused.

selves by the assertion that the individuals of that profession are in general cheats and impostors, from whom punctuality, in the discharge of their debts, is not to be expected. I do not deny but that, in our corporation, as well as in all the classes of which society is constituted, cheats and impostors are to be found; and that, in despite of the vigilance of the supreme authorities, many improper persons have been admitted into the associated body of miners. Among the apostles a Judas was found; but on that account the punishment due to the atrocity of his crime was not inflicted on his brethren. It oftentimes happens that the most upright miner is obliged, in a manner, to depart from the integrity of his principles. He cannot find protection when he speaks of his mine without enthusiasm, and without exaggerating the advantages it presents. When he shews the ores, they are depreciated; and physical securities are required of him, when he can merely urge a probable perspective. Finally, he is sensible that avarice dictates the succours which are afforded to him. It must be acknowledged that these are powerful temptations, to induce him to begin by exaggeration, and to conclude by falsehood.

“Relatively to the accusation brought against the miners, of a want of punctuality in the discharge of their obligations, much is to be said. Nature at times enriches them; and at times they are oppressed by the cruelty of men. Among those who tyrannize over them, the *habilitadores*, or money-lenders, are the most conspicuous. In payment of the sums they have advanced, they receive the *pina* at the low rate of six piastres four reals, and occasionally at six piastres two reals, although, in proportion to the price of the fused metal, it is worth

worth seven piastres three reals ; thus gaining eighteen per cent. in the short space of three or four months, when the credit expires. They are, notwithstanding, loud in their complaints, if the miner is in arrears in the smallest degree. Furthermore, the latter requires, I shall suppose, two thousand piastres for the current expences of his mine, and makes his arrangement accordingly with the *habilitador*. In such a case, the latter never supplies the whole of the sum at one time, but in small proportions, accompanied by fair promises. Thus it happens that the unfortunate miner is prevented from taking advantage of the seasons and opportunities, in laying in his supply of necessaries. But this is not all : of the two thousand piastres I have supposed, the whole is not paid in specie, but a great part in baize, and other commodities of a similar nature, charged at a very high rate. As the miner is under the necessity of distributing these commodities among his Indian labourers, the latter are, by the debts they contract, frequently led to desert. He is thus not only defrauded, but deprived of their valuable services.

“ Finally, the reply to the two antecedent charges may be reduced to the following propositions. Whenever impossibilities shall be no longer expected from them, the conduct of the miners will be more correct. Let them be treated with equity and candour, and there will be few among them who will fail in the punctuality of their payments.

“ With respect to the accusation of prodigality, it can only have been urged against us by those who confide in the assertions of the collectors, and obscure dealers in the produce of the mines. Men mounted on mules, on which they have wearisome journeys to perform over their grounds ;
eternally

eternally clad in a wretched *poncho**; habituated to a coarse and sparing diet; lodged in wretched huts; and unceasingly exposed to the inclemencies of the weather in climes of unusual rigour:—men, I say, of this description, are stiled prodigals, if they celebrate their saint's day with the harp and the guittar, or put on decent clothes when they pay a visit to the capital! The times are past, when the flourishing and adventurous miner was wont to stake a bar of silver, of the value of a hundred marks, on the hazard of a die; and when the simple overseer entered the mine with a flute and violins. The passions which in a city absorb a capital, are gratified in a mine by a sack of potatoes, and a jacket of English baize.”

REPLY OF THICIO ANTROPOPHOBO.

“ I do not know whether I ought to announce myself by saying, *I have the honour to be a miner*, or whether I should pronounce, with all humility, *I am a miner, craving your pardon*. By the different degrees of estimation in which the world holds those of my profession, it would appear that the two phrases are equally appropriate. Not an opulent merchant is to be found who does not speak of us with the utmost contempt. The poor envy our lot, and the prospects which lie before us. The man of letters treats us as uncouth rustics. We are flattered by the courtier, and by the ladies. In Europe we are considered as the arbiters of the riches of the earth; while in America we are regarded as a species similar to that of the negroes at the mint, who sweat and grow old in coining

* A kind of covering, borrowed from the ancient Indians, which will be more particularly described hereafter.

for others the gold and silver of which they are themselves denied the enjoyment. Amid so many contradictory judgments, I fancied that your society would pronounce a definitive opinion, so as at once to fix the true estimation in which we ought to be holden. I was persuaded that the miners would be covered with laurels and encomiums, by the means of your panegyrics. It appeared to me that you would load us with honours ; and, in short, I entertained a thousand other ideas of the same description, of the futility of which I am now persuaded. I perceive, gentlemen, that, with a determination to have a pluck at our mantle, you set out by revealing our necessities, and endeavour to oblige us to obtain relief, encouragement, and wealth, by the rugged path of first exposing our miseries, and the deficiencies which are to be noticed in the fundamental principles of our association. The letter of Egerio Chrysaforo which you have published, has electrified my spirit. At first sight it appears to be a simple vindication of the miners, in whose favour it offers an emphatical apology ; but being examined with more circumspection, it turns out to be a relation of their calamities, and a detail of the multiplied obstacles by which their progress is impeded. I, at least, suppose it to have been directed to such an aim ; and, on this supposition, I find in it a palpable defect, which I shall endeavour to demonstrate and supply in the best manner possible.

“ Policy, or it may be fear, or self-love, has occasioned Egerio to avoid the explanation of the sentence in his letter, in which he observes, that the miners are oppressed by the cruelty of men. The same principles may have inspired him with the idea of pointing out, as the cause of the backwardness

ness of the miners in fulfilling their payments, the avarice and exactions of those by whom the advances are made. I, who have the satisfaction to address myself to a learned and unprejudiced body, such as that of the Academical Society of Lima, do not consider these reticences to be requisite. I am aware of the merit of Egerio's letter, and am free to confess that his complaints are well-founded. They are, however, of a very trivial description. The first, principal, and most vital cause, of the little success which attends the working of the Peruvian mines, is the want of labourers, and the precarious system of labour which has been introduced.

“ If it were necessary to have recourse to rhetoric, to prove this proposition, I should set out by an eloquent exordium, describing, with every minuteness, the different operations which the refining of the metallic substances requires. I should analyze the degrees of heat or cold ; the elevation or profundity ; the nature of the works or defences ; and all the other circumstances, whether adverse or favourable, to which the labourer in the mine is subjected. I should venture my conjectures on the proportion of physical strength which is required for this task, and on those who are best qualified to discharge it with efficiency. But as, in this letter, I am to speak from my experience exclusively, on the testimony of that experience I assert, without hesitation, that Indians alone can be employed in the internal labours of the mines.

“ This is my mode of thinking ; and I shall proceed to adduce proofs in support of my assertion. It is beyond a doubt, that the advances made to the miners are the blood of their enterprizes. But what should we do with that fluid, if we were to want the arteries and veins by which it is vivified and

made to circulate through every part of the body? Of what import is it that a miner has money in his hand, if those belonging to the labouring class flee from his possessions, or cannot be persuaded to work on them? Under similar circumstances, I think I see a skilful and valorous general, an Epaminondas, or a Marlborough, provided with ammunition, and entrenched in an advantageous position, but without soldiers. In such a case what is he to do? He is unquestionably either obliged to surrender to the enemy, or to betake himself to flight.

“ The negroes in Peru are absolutely unfit for the labours of the mines. A residence alone in the rigid climates of the mountainous territory, renders them incapable even of domestic service. Their complexion undergoes a change, and becomes of an ashy paleness. The greater part of them fall sick, and die. A thousand attempts have been made to employ negroes instead of Indians, in the gold mines even of the provinces of La Paz, &c. where the temperature of the air is warm and benign; but the results have been invariably fatal. Whether it be that the particles of antimony which float in the mines operate more forcibly, and with a greater malignance, on the temperament of Africans; or that the mechanical labour of ascending and descending, with heavy loads, by the orifices of the mines, is more painful to them; or, lastly, that this employment is repugnant both to their strength and inclination; it is certain that this class of individuals cannot be resorted to, when it is intended to people a mine.

“ The Spaniards are as little qualified for this task. I have seen many robust young men, the greater part of them desert-
ters

ters from the sea-service, who, being actuated either by necessity, or by avarice, applied themselves to the different labours of the mines ; but who were in a short time forced to discontinue the pursuit, through a failure of their health and strength, and in consequence of the sufferings to which they had been exposed. A few years ago, a Peruvian undertook to harbour and conceal the deserters from the Spanish ships, and to send them to the mineral territory of Huarochiri, where, by his direction, they were immediately lodged and engaged in the operations of the mines. Not one of them was able to resist for the space of four months : those who did not perish, were forced to abandon their employment, overwhelmed with diseases. The mestizos, whether through pride, or for reasons of physical impossibility, do not apply themselves to this painful career, in which, to conclude in one word, the Indians alone are able to maintain themselves. The Indian, I say, accustomed to the rigorous climes and bad qualities of the countries in which the mines are generally situated, is alone calculated to work them. His arm is what we need ; and in him consists the true prosperity of the miner's pursuit.

“ I think I have proved my assertion, and thrown a new light on the letter of Egerio. In mine, it may have happened that the rules of logic have not been well observed ; but it is within the comprehension of every one. What I have not dared to say, I have insinuated. I am persuaded that many miners will find cause of exultation in the perusal of this letter ; and that, when they have proceeded thus far, they will expect of me to propose arbitrary measures by which the Indians may be compelled to labour in the mines, seeing that, without

out their aid, they cannot subsist*. I do not extend my ideas so far ; nor have I the talents requisite for such a task. All that I can do further on this subject is, to express my wishes.

“ I could wish, for instance, that the sub-delegates would not allow idle and vagrant Indians in their provinces ; and that those who, after having been once solemnly admonished, should be found to have relapsed into an indolent mode of life, should be apprehended and sent to the mine territories. I could wish (and here I repeat and enforce whatever Egerio has insinuated) that those who supply the funds should make their advances in specie, and not in commodities at an exorbitant price, to the end that the miners may be enabled to pay their labourers daily in current money, instead of reducing them to a kind of slavery by an opposite procedure. It is my ardent desire that the miners should be persuaded, how truly it is a paralogism, an egregious mistake, to believe that the Indians are the children of rigour only, and rebels to kind treatment ; and that they should, consequently, act with more humanity and charity, when the welfare of this unfortunate class of beings is concerned.

“ Finally, if there be any mineral territories, in the case of which neither the allurements of prompt payment, and of a progressive increase of stipend, nor a wise and courteous treat-

* In the royal mines, compulsory measures are resorted to. By *metas* is implied the personal service of the Indians, who, perforce, and respectively to the number by whom the tribute is paid, are made to repair from different provinces to the mines of Huancavelica and Potosi. If they fail in their personal attendance, a fine of thirty piastres, named by the Indians *faltriqueras*, is imposed on them.

ment,



Overseer of a Royal Peruvian Mine.

Pub. Feb 1785 by Richard Phillips 6 New Bridge Street

ment, combined with a benevolence which experience has confirmed, suffice to attract the Indians to the laborious operations of the mines, it is incumbent on the proprietors to submit to the determination of heaven, and to wait patiently for that happy epoch when a remedy for their necessities may be fallen on, which may be compatible with the liberty and inclination of those by whom alone they can be efficaciously served.

“ In what I have advanced, I have not been influenced by any motive of self-interest, inasmuch as my situation secures me from the necessities into the detail of which I have entered. My mines are situated in the mountainous territory of Colquijilca*, where I have a sufficient number of Indian labourers for every practical purpose. I have merely attempted to illustrate the letter of Egerio, by proving that, without Indians, neither talents nor pecuniary advances are of any avail to the miner, in the prosecution of his plans.”

Plate IV. represents an overseer of a royal Peruvian mine. The portrait of the horse on which he rides, is after Nature ; and this animal does not appear to have degenerated from the primitive Spanish race by which Peru was stocked after the conquest.

* This territory lies to the north-west of the city of Pasco, from which it is distant about half a mile. The mines it contains have been very recently discovered. Their ores are of the kind denominated *negrillos*, on account of their dusky hue. Although blended with a small proportion of copper, they are so rich as to yield from fifty to sixty marks of silver per caxon.

PART IV.

COMMERCE.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL DISSERTATION ON THE COMMERCE OF PERU.

TO have a just idea of a country, it is necessary to know, analytically, what are the resources which may constitute its felicity. The intellectual faculties, the police, the fashions, the warlike energies even, and the mode of thinking, are elevated or depressed in proportion to the degrees of the industry and opulence of nations. According to the universal system of social and political relations, modern nations cannot flourish without a well-regulated system of commerce. To the perfect comprehension of this branch of knowledge, and to its skilful combination, Holland has been indebted for her riches and support, if we may judge from the disadvantageous site of her steril, and, in a manner, submerged territory. By the same principle she was, in former times, crowned with martial laurels, and enabled, whether in peace or in war, to dictate laws to Europe. Unless for that commerce which is studiously cultivated by all the ranks of her inhabitants, Great Britain would be the slave of the ocean, the empire of which she so proudly maintains. Peru having given a decided, and, indeed, almost exclusive preference to the working of her mines, has not deemed the limits of the commerce in which she is engaged, to be worthy of her profound meditations. Custom,
imitation,

imitation, and necessity, bestow a greater or less degree of impulsion on every speculation. Several intelligent merchants have, indeed, made this subject their profound study, and have deduced many excellent results ; but the nation has hitherto been deprived of the fruits of their investigations.

To avoid the obscurity and confusion which the multiplicity of materials would otherwise occasion, they will be treated separately in this dissertation, in the order and method following.

1st, What are the productions and commodities of the viceroyalty of Peru, for its internal circulation, and commerce of exportation.

2dly, Its external commerce, or importation.

3dly, The causes of its decline. And, 4thly, the remedies which may be applied for its re-establishment.

SECTION I.

Peru, one of the principal parts of South America, comprehends the wide space which extends along the whole of the southern coast, from the river of Guayaquil to the port of Atacama, by a territory of from four to five hundred leagues in length, and fifty in breadth. It has the sea in front, and, at the back, the great Cordillera, and unexplored countries. Its communication is closed to the north, and at the confines of Guayaquil, by forests and inaccessible mountains, which extend to the isthmus of Panama ; and, to the south, it is separated from the kingdom of Chile by a desert of a hundred leagues in extent. At the same extremity, it is disunited from the provinces

vinces of Paraguay, Tucuman, and Buenos-Ayres, by another desert having an extent of four hundred leagues.

Its lands, like all those of the new world, do not present, at the epoch of its discovery, to the view of the attentive and impartial observer, any thing beside a steril, arid, and ungrateful soil, which constantly baffled the expectations of those who cultivated it with the greatest diligence*. The earliest Europeans who endeavoured to form an establishment in Peru, were, without exception, tormented by hunger and necessity, and reduced to the sad condition of toiling for the benefit of those by whom they were to be succeeded. This failure was inevitable in an immense uncultivated territory, left to its own fecundity, and abounding alone in that multiplicity of wild plants and productions, which vegetation drew from a soil never corrected by industry.

The native Americans being ignorant of the use of implements of iron, and possessing neither the ox, the horse, nor the ass, it was impossible that the effects of agriculture should be generally extended over a soil covered with forests, and with pools and lakes, the stagnant waters of which exhaled in the atmosphere the principles of putrefaction.

The most ancient and best founded observations† afford us the information, that in the centre even of the torrid zone, the earth was so cold at the depth of six or seven inches, that

* This dissertation appears to be the production of a Spaniard residing in Peru, for whose prejudices, supposing the suspicion to be well founded, a certain allowance is to be made. It contains, however, much valuable information.

† See the Introduction to the Natural History of Brazil, by Pison.

the tender seeds which were put into the ground, did not germinate, but were frozen. Accordingly, the indigenous shrubs of America, instead of extending their roots perpendicularly, spread them over the horizontal surface, thus avoiding, as it were instinctively, the internal frost which is destructive to them.

This degree of cold was equally sensible in the impressions of the air, since, on a comparison of the most exact experiments, a difference of twenty degrees may be established between the climate of the old world and that of the new, the heat being as sensible in America at forty degrees of the equator, as it is at sixty in Europe.

This disposition of the atmosphere must necessarily have had an influence on the productions and animals of the new world. Between its tropics there did not exist any of the large quadrupeds; and naturalists, adverting to this circumstance, have suspected that the seeds could not develop themselves in a climate so unfavourable to the principal organizations of the animal kingdom:— a conjecture which derives support from the sensible degeneration suffered by all the animals imported from Europe, insomuch that, at the commencement, serious apprehensions were entertained that their races would be gradually extinguished*.

* This observation is drawn from Bertrand's Natural and Political History of Pennsylvania, but does not apply to the present circumstances of South America, in many of the cultivated parts of which the breeds of the domestic animals imported from Europe, are said rather to have improved, than to have degenerated. With a view to the illustration of this point, in *Plate IV.* the overseer of a royal Peruvian mine is introduced on horseback, as represented in the descriptive painting of an Indian festival.

The same alteration was observed in the vegetable productions transplanted in the new world*. The wheat, sown with every precaution, was, in general, merely productive of a steril plant, provided with a stem of uncommon thickness. Its culture was therefore in many parts entirely abandoned. The vines did not prosper, although situated in more southern latitudes than in Europe. The coffee is still so inferior to that of Arabia, that even when mixed with Mocha coffee, it is readily detected, both by the taste and view, by the inhabitants of the Levant†. It has not any sale in Turkey, unless at a very reduced price. The sugars of the Canaries, China, and Egypt, are decidedly preferred to those of Brazil, although the latter are esteemed the best in America.

Accordingly, the aquatic and succulent plants were those which throve in abundance, in a humid and marshy soil, covered with thick forests, and on that account well adapted to the propagation of the immense number of insects that tormented, at each step, the earliest settlers ; since, the seeds of their fecundity being neither dispersed nor destroyed by the impulsion and agitation of the wind, which could not penetrate into those close retreats, they must have been most rapidly and prodigiously multiplied.

About three centuries of cultivation have partly remedied these defects. Constant labour, the cutting down of the trees and bushes, the drying up of the lakes, and the warmth of the habitations, have tempered the constitution of the air. The

* Garcilaso takes occasion to notice this, in speaking of the cherry-trees brought to Peru in 1580 by a merchant named Gaspar Alcozer.

† See the History of the English Colonies.

earth has lost its internal cold by the efforts of husbandry, the furrows made by the plough having enabled the rays of the sun to penetrate the soil to a considerable depth ; and having been meliorated by the salts of the decayed leaves and plants, the accumulation of which, during a long series of years, has furnished a natural compost, many vegetable productions have shot up, so as to have attained an extraordinary, and even formidable growth, similar to that which has been observed in every mountainous territory subjected to like circumstances.

But as industry and labour cannot vary the local situation of countries, that of Peru will be an eternal impediment to the prosperity of agriculture, and to the support and cultivation of its productions.

The great Cordillera which traverses all South America, forms in Peru another smaller one, denominated the cordillera of the coast, distant from the former from twenty to twenty-five leagues. From the waters it collects, proceed the rivers that empty themselves, by a sudden declination, and with a current of proportionate impetuosity, in the South Sea, in the proximity of which the territory named *Valles* is situated. It is fertilized as far as it has been practicable to intersect it by canals leading from the rivers.

Deserts of twenty, thirty, and forty leagues in extent, together with arid and sandy plains, separate the vallies from each other, from the port of Atacama to Guayaquil. The rivers are incapable of supplying them with the means of irrigation ; and it is impossible to expect this benefit from the waters of heaven, which being cooled by the perpetual snows that cover the summits of the mountains, and heated at the same time by the torrid zone, and their proximity to the equator,

equator, preserve an equal temperature; which prevents them from being condensed into true clouds. This is certainly the cause of the extraordinary phenomenon of the total absence of thunder and tempests; and on this account it is, that a slight covering of straw, which may absorb the dews and humidity of the night, is considered as a sufficient shelter for the dwellings.

At the back of the cordillera of the coast, and in the intermediate space between it and the more elevated one which is named the royal cordillera, or the cordillera of the Andes, are situated the provinces denominated *La Sierra*, extending from the jurisdiction of Chachapoyas to the great mineral territory of Potosi. The summits of their lofty mountains, never freed from the immense weight of permanent snow that oppresses them, are the origin and source of the waters which, being precipitated in torrents, have gradually formed the deep and rugged excavations of the earth, denominated, in common with the streams and rivulets that intersect them, *quebradas*, and in which are cultivated all the vegetable productions necessary to the sustenance of man. The declivities of these mountains afford a pasture for sheep; but the superior part of them consists of rocky surfaces, either totally bare, or covered by a weak moss.

From this description it may be deduced, that if, according to the most precise calculations, a square league can commodiously maintain eight hundred persons, as is asserted by Marshal Vauban, in his project for a royal tithe, there are in Peru tracts of twenty, and even thirty leagues in extent, which would not repay the industrious efforts of the husbandman with a single herb that would serve as pasture for the smallest animal.

animal. Nature has, however, compensated this ungrateful sterility, by the abundance of those precious metals, which, having been prodigiously augmented by the discovery of the new world, and received as the token of every description of productions, have entirely changed the ancient system of the commerce of the globe.

In a greater or less degree, the arid mountains of Peru may be considered as an inexhaustible elaboratory of gold and silver. With the exception of the mine of Huantajaya, situated near the port of Iquique, at a distance of two leagues from the sea, the richest mines are comprehended in the most rigid and insalubrious parts of *La Sierra*, where the absence of plants and shrubs, or, in other words, the infertility itself of the cold soil they occupy, is in general a sure indication which leads to their discovery.

As the Indians were ignorant, not only of the invention of money, but likewise of the astonishing powers of hydraulics applied to machinery, and of the secrets of mineralogy, more especially as they refer to chemistry and subterraneous geometry, the metals they extracted were not of a very considerable amount. The last emperor of Peru could not muster for his ransom*, the value of a million and a half of piastres in gold and silver; and the plunder of Cusco was not estimated at a greater sum than ten millions. This was a small quantity for so many years of research and accumulation, but immense for the simple and unique process of collecting, among the sands of the rivers, the minute particles of gold that had been swept

* History of the Conquest of Peru, by Zarate.

along by the waters, and the little pure silver that could be dug out of a pit, which, in many instances, did not exceed a fathom in depth.

The most moderate computations of the Spanish writers, among whom may be particularly cited Moncada, Navarrete, and Ustariz, fix at nine thousand millions of piastres the sums which Spain received from America during the two hundred and forty-eight years that followed its conquest, up to that of 1740. The mine of Potosi alone, during the first ninety years of its being worked, produced three hundred and ninety-five millions six hundred and nineteen thousand piastres ;—a prodigious extraction, which appears more surprizing, when it is considered that metallurgy had hitherto been treated, not according to the principles and rules of art, but according to the adoption and practice of an ancient and blind usage.

Whether this abundant source of riches ought to be encouraged in preference to the other gifts of the earth ; or whether the natural productions and primary substances by which agriculture is augmented and extended, should be the objects of an equal, or, perhaps, of a more sedulous attention, is a problem of political economy which may be easily decided by forming an idea of the position, soil, and productions of the Peruvian territory.

The viceroyalty of Peru, which, since various disjunctions, and the erection of that of Buenos Ayres, commences, to the north, at Tumbes, and, to the south, at Vilcanota, the southern extremity of the province of Tinta, running through a space of five hundred itinerary leagues to that confine, and proceeding thence, by the coast, to the desert of Atacama, a distance of more than six hundred leagues, is divided into se-

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ven intendencies, which comprehend one thousand three hundred and sixty towns, and the forty-nine departments, as they are now named, to which the seventy-seven jurisdictions that, prior to this establishment, formed its government, have been reduced.

The population does not correspond to so great an extent of territory. According to the highest computation, the number of its inhabitants does not exceed a million ; in which amount are included four hundred thousand Indians, the remainder consisting either of whites, or of individuals of the different casts. This estimate, when compared with the exaggerated relations of the enemies of the Spaniards, who have endeavoured to tarnish their laurels by the odious epithet of the exterminators of the Americans, holds out to the view an immense depopulation ; but is conformable to the degree of industry and subsistence attained by the nations by whom these territories were anciently occupied.

In reality, it is not possible to believe, that, in the short space of time which elapsed between the year 1513, the epoch of the first expeditions to Peru, and the year 1517, that of the first regular importation of negroes*, intended to supply the sensible deficiency of hands requisite for the cultivation of the grounds, so much blood should have been spilled, and so

* Fernando the Catholic conveyed, on his own private account, several negroes to America in the year 1510 ; but the exclusive privilege was granted to an individual named Chevris, in 1516. The latter ceded this right, for the sum of twenty three thousand ducats, to a company of Genoese merchants, by whom the first debarkation, consisting of five hundred Africans, and as many females, was made in the island of St. Domingo, at the commencement of the year 1517. See the Discourse on the Origin of the Slave Trade.

many victims sacrificed, for the barbarous and insensate pleasure of destroying, and committing crimes. It being at the same time certain that the territories into which the Spanish armies did not penetrate, constitute the most complete wastes, insomuch that throughout an extent of many leagues, not the slightest trace of a human dwelling is to be found ; and that, under the government of the Yncas, there was not, in all Peru, with the exception of Cuzco, a single place which could have formed a city ; a regard to justice requires that the false ideas which have been entertained relatively to the ruin and destruction of America, should be laid aside.

This destruction would have been horrible, if the calculation which makes its aborigines amount to three hundred millions, were not destitute of all probability. The absurd author*, however, of this contemptible estimate, has not been supported in his extravagances. Those who come the nearest to him, do not rate the population of America, running from south to north, with all the islands in its dependency, at more than a hundred millions ; and, with this notable deduction even, they depart considerably from the truth, since the political arithmeticians who have treated the subject with impartiality, allow forty millions only to the whole of the new world, at the time of its discovery.

The true causes of the depopulation of America, taken in the general sense which has already been expressed, are to be traced in the kind of life to which its primitive inhabitants were confined. Depending principally on hunting and fishing, their days were spent in a violent agitation, at the same

* Riccioli.

time that they needed certain aliments better calculated for the propagation of the human species. The wars which were carried on, with scarcely an interval of repose, between the nations that peopled the country ; the sacrifices of human victims to which several of them were accustomed ; the crimes which were very common in others ; and, lastly, the insalubrity of the climate, more especially in the islands and provinces bordering on the line, covered with forests and lakes, which rendered the atmosphere more humid than in any other part of the earth ; all these principles concurred to prevent the generations from multiplying. The ignorance of the useful arts, of such as are essential to the conveniences of life, in which the American lived, contributed also to this effect.

This last deficiency was supplied by the Indians of Peru, according to the imperfect state of their acquirements. As they knew not how to reckon up to twenty, without employing such material signs as could be substituted to the idea of quantities, they had recourse to the *quipos*, the combination, knots, and colours of which served them instead of arithmetic, history, and painting. The celebrated ruins of the fortress of Cuzco point out to us the extent to which the force of man can be carried, when unassisted by the knowledge of the equilibrium, and by machinery. These fragments demonstrate, that, in the time of the Yncas, the Peruvians constructed their buildings with solidity and ostentation. To pile together stones of a prodigious size*, by the means of a great number

* One of the portions of rock of which this edifice was composed, has been calculated to weigh from twelve to fifteen tons. Another, which lies on the ground, and appears not to have been applied to the purpose for which it was intended, is of so enormous a size, as to make it difficult to conceive how, with such very simple means, it could have been brought from the quarry whence it was drawn.

of men, was, however, the utmost effort of their architecture ; and was admirable for a nation destitute of all knowledge of the mathematical science.

It has been observed by the celebrated Linnæus, that in all uncultivated and savage countries, the rivers are wider and more extensive, in proportion to the mass of their waters, than in the regions inhabited by civilized nations. The justness of this observation is demonstrated in Peru, where it is continually necessary to cross rivulets and torrents, which embarrass, in a very extraordinary degree, the intercourse and communication, in a country where there are few bridges to facilitate the transport of merchandize. Those which the native inhabitants needed, were formed without arches, of the construction of which they were ignorant. The rafts and bridges of cord supply, however, in a certain degree, this deficiency, which could not be felt by a nation whose sole necessity was that of conveying its tribute to Cuzco.

The above-mentioned causes, united to the vices inherent in the soil, have prevented in Peru the progress of agriculture, it having been recognized from the commencement, that in proportion as she has been favoured by the production of metals of every description, she has, on that very account, been condemned to an ungrateful sterility, relatively to the other gifts of Nature. The history of the Yncas contains the following observation: “ There are but few good lands in Peru: in the territory surrounding Callao, for an extent of more than a hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, the maize does not spring up, on account of the excessive cold. In the vallies, the scarcity of water is an insurmountable obstacle to vegetation ; and there are, besides, more than seven hundred leagues of a parched and arid coast, where it never rains, and
through

through which not a single river directs its course." Thus spoke, very much to the purpose, one of the early historians of Peru.

Time, the supreme arbiter of speculations and possibilities, has established the solidity of this observation, Peru not having been susceptible, in the lapse of nearly three centuries, of any augmentation in the amount of her productions. They are, however, proportioned to the number of her inhabitants, the sole consumers, between whom a constant intercourse is maintained, the provinces supplying each other reciprocally with the particular articles of consumption, which are superabundant in some, and defective in others. This commerce, which is carried on both by sea and land, left a balance, at the close of the year 1789, in favour of the viceroyalty of Lima, of seven hundred and twenty-five thousand one hundred and ninety-two piastres :—an estimate which will serve, with a trifling variation, for the other years.

The profits which that viceroyalty derived, in the course of the above year, from the introduction of its productions into the provinces of Buenos-Ayres, exceeded a million of piastres. It cannot be said to carry on any maritime trade with these provinces, although the circumstances of the war of 1779 occasioned two or three vessels to be sent from Callao to Montevideo, partly laden with cacao and cinchona, destined to be shipped on board vessels bound to Cadiz ; and partly with sugar, honey, and cloths of the fabric of the country, for the consumption of the interior. It is indeed true, that in the bark which sails occasionally from the port of Montevideo to that of Arica, to supply the mines situated in that government with quicksilver, it has been customary to ship tallow, and the herb

herb of Paraguay ; but in such inconsiderable quantities as not to derange the preceding estimate.

But the inland commerce of the productions introduced by the departments of the intendencies of Arequipa and Cuzco, into the above jurisdiction of Buenos-Ayres, by the intermediate stations of the cities of Potosi and Chuquisaca, amounted to the sum of two millions thirty-four thousand nine hundred and eighty piastres. Of this sum one million three hundred thousand four hundred and seventy-five piastres, belonged to the provinces of Arequipa, for brandies ; wines of the growth of the vallies of Locumba, Mages, and Victor ; maize ; wheaten flour ; cotton ; oil ; pimento ; sugars ; and other productions of less import. The remainder, amounting to seven hundred and thirty-five thousand five hundred and five piastres, belonged to the intendency of Cuzco, for baizes, and other woollen manufactures ; sugars ; grains, &c. In return, the intendency of Arequipa received from Buenos-Ayres the amount of three hundred and eighty-nine thousand two hundred and sixty piastres, in cattle, dried flesh, wool, tallow, cocoa, copper, tin, &c. That of Cuzco received from the above jurisdiction the value of four hundred and seventy-five thousand five hundred and thirty piastres, in mules ; sheep* ; black cattle ; hides ; wax ; soap ; tallow ; baizes, &c. The result, in favour of the intendency of Arequipa, was nine hundred and eleven thousand two hundred and fifteen

* In the year referred to, that of 1789, a hundred and twenty thousand sheep were imported, by the route of Cuzco, from the jurisdiction of Buenos-Ayres into that of Lima, into which twenty thousand mules are annually introduced, from the provinces of La Sierra, annexed to the former of these jurisdictions.

piastres ;

piastres ; and, in favour of that of Cuzco, two hundred and fifty-eight thousand nine hundred and seventy-five piastres. By this intercourse, more than a million of piastres, coined in the mint of Potosi, are annually introduced, in aid of the circulating specie, into the viceroyalty of Lima.

As the provinces of La Sierra annexed to Buenos Ayres, are the most abundant in mines, and on that account the most populous and steril, it is necessary that the consumers, whose numbers are very considerable, should be supplied with the natural productions of the coast, the only part of the territory of Peru where the lands can be profitably cultivated. Arequipa is, by its proximity, the source of these supplies ; and Cuzco administers, by its manufactories, the baizes, and other articles of clothing which the population demands. It ought, however, to be observed, that the augmented introduction of the manufactures of Europe, by the river of La Plata, has latterly occasioned this branch of commerce to decline in a sensible manner, the camlets, fustians, second cloths, &c. imported by this channel, having been sold at little more than their prime cost, so as to have ruined, by their competition, the baizes and stuffs of the manufacture of the country.

With the other governments the commerce is maritime, and is carried on from the port of Callao, in vessels of different classes, chiefly belonging to inhabitants of Lima. The above port is the rendezvous of from sixteen to seventeen thousand tons of shipping*, five thousand tons of which are reserved for

* The following is a correct list of the vessels belonging to the port of Callao, at the close of the year 1789. Galleons: San Miguel, of 1800 tons; Hercules, of 1200; Aguila, of 1000; Nepomuceno, of 950; Piedad, of 900; Barbara, of 850;

for this trade, or, in other words, for the navigation of the south sea, including Guatemala, and Panama. The balance is invariably, in a greater or less degree, against the viceroyalty of Lima, a certain portion of the specie circulating in which, is absorbed by this intercourse.

It is principally maintained with the kingdom of Chile, by its three ports of Concepcion, Valparaiso, and Coquimbo. The articles exported from Lima, consist chiefly of cloths, either of the manufacture of the country, or of Quito; sugars; salt; and rice. In return, that viceroyalty receives an abundant supply of corn; together with tallow; copper; hides; cordage, &c. The exports amounted, in 1789, to four hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and seventeen piastres; and the imports to six hundred and twenty-nine thousand eight hundred piastres; leaving a balance in favour of Quito, of a hundred and seventy-one thousand four hundred and eighty-three piastres.

The cause of so very considerable an advantage to that government, may be traced to the sterility produced in the valleys adjacent to Lima, by the dreadful earthquake which occurred towards the close of the seventeenth century. For several succeeding years the crops failed; and the plains having been rendered utterly unfit for the cultivation of wheat, its

850; Begona, of 750; and a new ship, of 900.—Merchant frigates: Baldiviano, of 650 tons; Rosario, of 600; Socorro, of 600; Sacramento, of 500; Carmen, of 500; Dolores, of 400; Cordelera, of 400; Rosalia, of 350; Barca, of 350; Belencito, of 350; and Venturita, of 300.—Packet boats: Rosa, of 400 tons; Perlita, of 300; Santa Teresa, of 300; Africa, of 300; Copacavano, of 250; Aurorita, of 200; Carmen, of 200; Rosarito, of 150; Nepomucenito, of 150; Centella, of 175; Pena, of 175; Ester, of 150; Venturoso, of 150; and San Antonio, of 125. Total amount of tonnage, 16,375 tons.

price

price rose to thirty piastres the bushel. From this public calamity originated the present traffic in corn; the ships engaged in the transport of which, were before laden with commodities of a very different nature.

It would appear that the commerce of corn, for the consumption of the Peruvian capital, absorbs nearly the one half of the gross amount of the imports. In 1789, two hundred and eighteen thousand bushels of wheat, of the value of two hundred and seventy-five thousand piastres, were imported from Chile. Its other productions, which are less plentiful, and not of so prime a necessity, would constantly have rendered that kingdom dependent on Peru. Those forwarded to the ports of Iquique, Arica, Ilo, and Aranta, commonly named the intermediate ports, to supply the provinces of Arequipa, and those, contiguous to them, belonging to the jurisdiction of Buenos-Ayres, do not exceed the amount of forty-six thousand six hundred and seventy-five piastres. From this estimation is to be deducted the value of the herb of Paraguay, which is not a production of Chile, but is brought thither by two vessels that sail annually from the port of Pascamayo, chiefly laden with tobacco on the account of his Catholic Majesty.

Although the island of Chiloe is annexed to the viceroyalty of Lima, its proximity to the kingdom of Chile has occasioned it to be considered, but improperly, as constituting, in a commercial point of view, a part of that government. The amount of its commerce cannot be precisely ascertained, its productions being blended with others that are foreign to its soil. The exports from this island amounted, in 1789, to thirty thousand piastres; and the imports to fifty-one thousand

two hundred. There was consequently a balance of twenty-one thousand two hundred piastres against the viceroyalty of Lima.

The only intercourse kept up with Valdivia, which has not any exports, is by two vessels that sail thither annually, one from the port of Valparayso with provisions, and the other from Lima, with pay for the troops composing the garrison. This entire want of commerce is not owing to a sterility of soil. At a little distance from the city, towards the Cordillera, there are vallies which abound in every description of grains and productions. The mountains are covered by holm oaks, and other trees, which are in great request for building; and the gold mines of this district have been cited for the fine quality of their metal, the standard of which, at the time they were worked, was never beneath twenty-three carats. The population having, however, been destroyed by the neighbouring Indians, at the close of the seventeenth century, and not exceeding, at the present time, two thousand souls, the condition of Valdivia has become truly deplorable. With a view to the re-establishment of its commerce, it has been recently declared a free port, subject to the presidency of Chile.

The ports of Realexo and Sonsonate are the only ones which are frequented for the exportation from Callao to the coast of the southern extremity of the kingdom of Goatemala. The amount of the exports, which consist of furs; wines; brandies; oil, &c. is so very inconsiderable, that in 1789 it did not exceed twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fifty piastres. On the other side, the importation, from the above ports, of indigo; pimento; pitch; cedar planks; brazil wood;

wood ; &c. amounted to a hundred and twenty-four thousand five hundred piastres ; leaving a balance against the viceroyalty of Lima, of ninety-six thousand one hundred and fifty piastres. The remission of the duties on the imports and exports, lately conceded to the ports of Omoa and Truxillo, situated in the northern part of the above kingdom of Goatemala, will necessarily produce a change in the above commerce.

The trade carried on by the viceroyalty of Lima with that of Santa Fé, is partly inland, by the province of Quito, and partly maritime, by the ports of Guayaquil and Panama. The exports from Callao to the harbour of Puna, and river of Guayaquil, consist of wines of the growth of Coquimbo, Nasca, Pisco, and Conception ; brandies ; sugars ; flour ; copper, &c. Those from the above port to that of Panama, chiefly consist of cloth of the manufactory of the country ; wool ; and flour. The principal articles sent overland to the intermediate ports of Paita, Pacasmayo, Truxillo, &c. and thence forwarded to those of Guayaquil and Panama, are cotton ; tanned hides ; shoes ; hats ; baizes ; and sugars. The exports of the year 1789 were, in their total amount, of the value of a hundred and twenty-eight thousand two hundred and ninety-five piastres.

The imports from the viceroyalty of Santa Fé into that of Lima, by the ports of Guayaquil and Panama, to Callao and the intermediate ports of Paita and Truxillo, consisting of cacao ; coffee ; wax ; and other productions, were, in that year, of the value of two hundred and eighty-four thousand four hundred and sixty piastres. There was therefore a

balance against Lima of one hundred and fifty-six thousand one hundred and sixty-four piastres.

Such is the sketch of the active commerce of Peru, and of the natural productions of its soil. It demonstrates the abject condition to which its traffic has been reduced ; since, with the exception of the advantages it derives from several of the provinces of Buenos-Ayres, it is not able to balance, by its productions, those it draws from the other departments of America, for its own consumption and use. This subject will be best illustrated by a general recapitulation of what has been exposed above.

	Piastres.
Exportation to Buenos-Ayres, - - - - -	2,034,980
Importation from Buenos-Ayres, - - - - -	864,790
	<hr/>
In favour of Lima, - - - - -	1,170,190
	<hr/>
Exportation to Chile, - - - - -	458,317
Importation, - - - - -	629,800
	<hr/>
Against Lima, - - - - -	171,483
	<hr/>
Exportation to Chiloe, - - - - -	30,000
Importation, - - - - -	51,200
	<hr/>
Against Lima, - - - - -	21,200
	<hr/>
Exportation to Guatemala, - - - - -	28,350
Importation, - - - - -	124,500
	<hr/>
Against Lima, - - - - -	96,150
	<hr/>
	Expor-

	Piastres.
Exportation to Santa Fé, - - - - -	128,295
Importation, - - - - -	284,460
	<hr/>
Against Lima, - - - - -	156,165
	<hr/>
Total amount of exports, - - - - -	2,679,942
<hr/> imports, - - - - -	1,954,750
	<hr/>
Result in favour of Lima, - - - - -	725,192
	<hr/>

To this sum is to be added the produce of the maritime freights, which are deducted, in the first instance, from the amount of the sales, and which belong exclusively to individuals residing within the jurisdiction of Lima, the sole proprietors of the trading vessels, as well as of the mules for inland conveyance. The commission of sale and delivery, on the productions of the country, is regulated at four per cent. ; but on the purchases and recoveries for the towns situated in the interior, as well as on the remittances made by them, the commission is not charged, it being the general custom to perform gratuitously these offices of trust and friendship. The beneficial practice of insurances, by which the merchant is exempted from the risks of the ocean, and is not exposed to the contingencies of an entire loss of his capital and fortune, is not known. Indeed, the very inconsiderable number of vessels trading in the South Sea, could not support this combination of industry, established with a view to the gains arising out of the repetition of the risks, and the diversity of the destinations.

The

The preceding calculation is but little augmented by the small quantity of vicuña wool, the annual exports of which may be estimated at ten thousand piastres ; and by the two thousand quintals of cinchona, or Peruvian bark, of Piura, Chachapoyas, and Huambos, which, at the low price of twenty-five piastres the quintal, amount to fifty thousand piastres. A peculiar species of the latter article has been recently procured from the mountainous provinces of Huanuco, Tarma, and Xauja ; but in such inconsiderable portions as not to merit a commercial consideration. As its superior quality has given it a decided preference over all the other kinds which have been discovered in America, it is to be hoped that abundant supplies of it will hereafter be obtained. It is known by the name of *roxa*, or red bark ; and differs essentially from the other varieties, which bear the appellation of *arrollada*, or quilled bark.

The national laws strongly recommend the introduction and cultivation of the wool trade, which cannot, however, be advantageously prosecuted in Peru. In addition to the expences of cleansing, carding, and combing, which are rated very high, the charges of its transport by land and sea are so considerable, that it does not hold out any ultimate advantage to the exporter. The arroba of wool, of twenty-five pounds weight, on the spot where it is sheared, is estimated at a piastre ; its freight from the provinces of Xauja and Pasco to Lima, at four reals ; the expences of cleansing, &c. at two piastres ; and those of its transport to Cadiz, at three piastres. As it is there subject to a heavy duty of three piastres three reals, independently of the commission, risk, and interest

terest on the capital embarked, it cannot enter into a competition with the wools of Segovia and Castille, of a superior quality, which may be brought to market at as low a rate.

From the above details it may be collected, that the provinces of Peru have to seek riches in the bosom, and not on the superficies of the earth. All those that the mineral kingdom can produce, are to be found in abundance within their confines: alum, copperas, and ochre; crystal, basaltes, and sulphur; the *copé*, a species of black naphtha, as hard as asphaltum, which, although it has a defect easily to be corrected by blending it with other substances, that of burning the cordage, is employed for maritime purposes instead of pitch; copper, lead, and iron; and lastly, and pre-eminently, gold and silver, the general instruments of equation in every description of commerce.

It is recorded by Llano Zapata, in the discourse prefixed to his Memoirs of South America, that at the commencement of the seventeenth century, eighteen thousand spots of mineral territory, in which were comprehended one hundred and twenty thousand mines, were registered in Peru. Notwithstanding this object of commerce and industry has declined sensibly, for reasons which will hereafter be adduced, the mines, as they are at present worked, yield annually about four millions and a half of piastres in gold and silver, without reckoning the portion of these metals employed in the manufacture of articles of convenience and luxury.

As metals, gold and silver have an intrinsic value; the nations which possess them ought accordingly to watch over their increase, in the same way as the husbandman attends to the propagation of his seeds. They neither feed nor clothe;
insomuch

insomuch that, if all commerce and intercourse should, by an extraordinary casualty, be at an end, the country which abounds in gold and silver alone, would be exposed to the calamities of wretchedness and want. But as, in the natural and established order of causes and effects, they are followed by the commodities essential to the existence of man, their proprietors will constantly reap advantages proportioned to their more or less flourishing condition. They are a kind of river, on which all things useful and necessary are navigated and transported; commerce being nothing more than the well-rope, without which the water enclosed in the depth beneath would not be of any utility. To proportion to the extent of the latter, the amount of the specie which should be drawn from the mines, belongs to the government; and on this head a competent idea cannot be formed, unless the annual importation into Peru be first considered.

SECTION II.

As the balance of trade varies in proportion to the abundance or scarcity, it is impossible to calculate precisely the annual introduction, consumption, and value of the effects; at the same time that the reports of the custom-houses have the defect of not being accompanied by the prices of the merchandizes; that being a mystery reserved for the secret observations of the merchant, on which he is to found his meditated and allowed profits, and which could not be exacted by the supreme authority, without an odious and unnecessary verification that would be destructive of the freedom of the contracts.

The calculation formed on the number of the consumers
would

would approach as nearly as possible to the real entries, if the different classes of the inhabitants of Peru did not observe a total difference in the articles of their dress. That of the individuals destined to cultivate the plains, and to perform the other useful labours in the different provinces, consists entirely of the cloths and other manufactures of the country.

The rule the best adapted to obtain these useful data, and to preserve that nice balance which ought to be maintained between the introduction and the expenditure, is to proportion the imports to the effective value of the territorial productions. If the former be less than the country requires, its inhabitants are compelled to suffer all the disastrous effects of a scarcity. If they exceed their consumption, the importers are subjected to the losses inseparable from an overwhelming abundance, which, by a natural principle, lowers the estimation and price of every commercial effect.

This constant axiom, which is alike supported by theory and practice, appears to be clearly demonstrated by the present state of the commerce of the viceroyalty of Peru. Its annual produce in gold, silver, and other effects, as has been already shewn, amounts to little more than five millions of piastres. Now, in the course of a year, reckoning from the month of September 1785, sixteen vessels anchored in the port of Callao, with cargoes estimated at twenty-four millions.

This excessive importation, together with those of the subsequent years, pretty nearly to the same amount, and the facility of supplying the provinces situated in the interior by the river of La Plata, have occasioned a general clamour to be raised on the subject of the decline of commerce, its embar-

rassments, and the scarcity of the specie which should bestow on it vigour and activity ; a persuasion being entertained, that these pernicious results are precisely the effect of a free trade.

These vague and unfounded complaints, which confine the view solely to the particular interest of the merchant, instead of extending it to the advantages produced by the different compensations of all the united objects, are to be condemned as contrary to the common felicity and general welfare of the nation.

Foreigners, aware of the advantages which may result from the new regulations, have had recourse to subtleties and sophisms, to bring into discredit this very useful system. Spain, they observe, being but thinly peopled in proportion to her territory, ought not to augment the facilities and resources of the sea-ports, which, by embracing profits at once more prompt, more secure, and more multiplied, cherish commerce, to the prejudice both of agriculture, and of the population. Cadiz, on account of its limited space, being incapable of receiving and maintaining a greater number of inhabitants, the productions were sent thither for traffic, but the families remained on their possessions : hence resulted the double utility of the funds being first circulated, and afterwards remitted into the interior, for the support of the lands on which the proprietors resided. In that port, the number of vessels trading to the Indies is infinitely greater than in any other ; consequently, there is a greater opportunity to divide the risks, a necessary stimulus to the merchant, who cannot consent to expose the whole of his property to one fortuitous event. The different speculations, relatively to the scarcity or abundance of certain articles of commerce, which it is
easy

easy to found on the remittances and orders from America, with a view to avoid the losses resulting from the market being imprudently overstocked, cannot be formed at the very considerable distance of some of the ports from the others. And, lastly, the moderate prices at which foreign commodities were to be procured, in consequence of their being collected in a single place, will be greatly enhanced by the new system : by dispersing them in various directions, it will not allow them to maintain the just value to which a competition had reduced them.

If it were the object of this dissertation to justify the above system, it would not be difficult to dissipate these vain terrors, the offspring of a blind regard to private profit, by establishing the advantages the nation derives from the unlimited freedom of commerce. But as the reflections which arise out of this subject, are necessarily confined to the effects produced on the viceroyalty of Lima, it may be asserted without hesitation, on the testimony of the most exact comparative calculations, between the present condition and that of former times that the mischiefs which have been so much lamented, and so often repeated, do not originate in this source.

Spain, in the illusion of her prosperity, and with the chimerical design to appropriate to herself the riches and productions of the new world she had just acquired, not only prohibited all trade with foreign countries, but likewise threw obstacles in the way of the traffic the natives might establish among themselves. Although, by the edict of Charles I. dated in 1529, the commerce of the Indies was to be divided between the different ports of the ocean and Mediterranean, to the end that its advantages should be circulated through all

the provinces of the crown of Castille, the severest penalties were enacted to oblige the homeward-bound vessels to proceed directly to Seville. By this restriction the effect of the general permission was annulled.

The system of the galleons was chosen as the most secure for the supply of the above provinces, and, by the scale of prices drawn up by the commercial deputies of Spain and Peru, established the just value of the merchandizes and effects. The loss of Jamaica in the middle of the seventeenth century, augmented very considerably the contraband trade. The pillage of Panama, in 1670, by the Englishman, John Morgan, which rendered it necessary to withhold the capitals, and to delay the remittances until notice should be sent of the arrival of the ships at Carthagena; together with the privilege granted to a company of English merchants in 1713, in conformity to a preliminary article of the treaty of Utrecht, to supply Peru with negroes for the space of thirty years, oppressed to such a degree, by the competition which was set up, these celebrated marts, that after the one holden in 1737, it was impossible to continue the above system for a longer time.

In its stead was substituted the commerce by Cape Horn, in detached ships, without any regulation either as to their number, or the time of their sailing, the permission to employ them in this trade being a special favour, subject, however, to an infinity of delays, and of perplexing formalities, established on the pretext of preventing smuggling, which, combined with the very high rate of tonnage, impeded the success of every enterprize.

At length came the new regulation of a free trade. It was promul-

promulgated in the month of October 1778 ; but could not be carried into general effect until the year 1783, on the conclusion of the peace. As, in the first fervour of novelty, the speculations were multiplied to the extraordinary degree already noticed, the impracticability of the sales and returns occasioned the failure of many merchants, who were obliged to stop payment.

These mischiefs were not, however, precisely owing to a free trade ; but arose in a great measure from the defect of not combining, studiously and methodically, the enterprizes with the results that were to be expected from them. As the profession of the merchant depends on the caprices of men, and on a thousand complicated incidents, it requires, to be successfully pursued, a superior spirit of vigilance and attention, such as was certainly not displayed in Peru in the years 1785 and 1786, when the augmented number of importers surcharged with merchandizes, of the value of twenty-four millions of piastres, a kingdom which consumes annually the amount of four only. This excess occasioned so great a stagnation, as entirely to interrupt the course of trade.

To undertake to regulate it by particular laws, and by a fixed number of tons of shipping, is to oppose to a transitory evil a constant destruction. Hold out to all the subjects of a state the hope of acquiring, as well as of enjoying the fruit of their labour ; and their reverses will render them more circumspect in the means they will embrace. Agriculture and commerce are, in common with all the arts, advanced by two principles, namely, interest and liberty. The direction of these principles belongs to the government ; but the citizen being once placed in the road which leads to the common felicity,

city, ought to be left to follow up his pursuits tranquilly and without molestation. When, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, the impossibility to which Spain was reduced, of supplying her colonies, stimulated the merchants of St. Maloes to establish a trade with South America by Cape Horn, the universal emulation inspired by the prospect of gain, gave rise to a competition which rendered the merchandizes of little or no value. In some instances, indeed, where a market could not be found for them at any price, the supercargoes were obliged to commit them to the flames. By this example, however, the commercial equilibrium was soon re-established.

If an exact comparison be made between the progress of commerce in the times anterior to the permission, and its present state and influence, it will be seen that Peru has constantly tended to preserve the same ratio between her imports and exports; and that their augmentation, by the means of the free trade, has distributed the advantages which were before confined to a few hands, among a greater number of individuals, to the sensible benefit, both of the nation at large, and of the public treasury.

It is unnecessary to compare the present system with the epoch of the *armadas*, or galleons, its advantages being too clear and obvious to need the slightest elucidation. The abolition of the latter must have been a constant source of anxiety to foreign nations, thus deprived of the benefits of supplying Peru, and of extracting, by a destructive importation, the greater part of her treasures.

The burthen of the galleons, and of the ships by which they were followed, was regulated, in the seventeenth century,
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at fifteen thousand tons, for the consumption of Peru and Terra Firma. In 1740 it was reduced to two thousand, the contraband trade having absorbed thirteen thousand tons. The facility with which the opulent merchant was enabled to engross any particular branch of commerce, rendered him the arbiter of the price, which he augmented to a degree that necessity alone was allowed to regulate. For a quintal of iron a hundred piastres were exacted; for the same quantity of steel, a hundred and fifty; and this monstrous disproportion was observed relatively to the other productions and effects. The returns to the mother country were proportionate to the small share of influence and interest she had in this commerce: in the space of twenty-six years, from 1714 to 1739, thirty-four millions only of piastres were registered. During the whole of that time, not more than four armadas put to sea; although the regulation imported, that the galleons should be dispatched annually, or within the limit of eighteen months, at the latest. This delay became a new stimulus to the revival of the contraband trade; and the forty-third article of the *assiento*, by which the English were allowed to send annually a ship of five hundred tons to trade with the Spanish colonies, became so prejudicial to Peru, that a remedy was scarcely to be expected.

It was partly found, in 1748, by the permission to navigate, by Cape Horn, in vessels named register ships, by which the relations with the mother country became more direct and frequent, at the same time that the destructive combinations of foreigners, established on the slow and methodical sailing of the galleons, were frustrated by the uncertainty of the departure, as well as of the number of the ships. Since that time,
whatever

whatever Europe can furnish of the useful, the tasteful, and the commodious, has been insensibly diffused throughout Peru. The prices are so much diminished, that a family may now be clad with the finest cloths, for a sum which would not before have procured the coarsest manufactures of the country. The population of Lima has augmented to fifty-two thousand souls ; whereas, in 1749, forty-five thousand inhabitants were not to be numbered. The working of the mines, and the refining of the ores, have derived encouragement and aid from the low rate of interest paid by the miner, and from the increased number of those who have capitals to advance. In the royal mint of Lima, four hundred thousand marks of silver are annually wrought, instead of two hundred and thirty thousand, which, on a fair average estimate, were coined in the antecedent times referred to. Lastly, the returns to the mother country have been quadrupled, in proportion to the produce of the kingdom, they having been of the annual amount of four millions and a half of piastres in silver, and of about a million in merchandizes, exclusive of what has been registered by Buenos-Ayres and Carthagena, which then constituted a part of the lading of the armada, but does not now enter into the accounts of the exports of the jurisdiction of Lima.

These benefits have been acquired gradually. When the first register ships anchored in the port of Callao, the price of insurances at Cadiz was twenty per cent. On the following year it fell to fifteen ; and declined gradually, until, in 1790, it was at the very reduced rate of two per cent. This reduction is an evident and infallible proof of the advantages of the present system. To know whether a country be rich or poor, and to ascertain the degree of protection afforded to commerce,
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one question only is to be asked : at what rate is specie to be procured ? If it be high, trade declines for want of a due encouragement, and of the active intercourse by which it should be sustained. If, on the other hand, it be low, the circulation is animated and revived by the extension of its limits, and by the distribution of the funds among the most useful and industrious part of the nation. Spain, which, in 1500, paid an interest of ten per cent. reduced it, in 1550, to four per cent. by the rapid and excessive augmentation her treasury acquired by the discovery of America.

As the merchant does not contract a debt, unless to acquire by his industry, a substantial profit ; and as the lender does not advance his money, unless to appropriate to himself a part of this advantage ; it is certain that the interest is a pension imposed by the rich possessor on the active trader. Consequently, in a state, the prosperity and opulence of which depend on the augmented number and labour of men, it is important that this burthen should be light.

The superiority and advantages of a state are founded on the extension and combination of its commerce. When the interest of money is reduced, more persons are enabled to trade, because there are more lenders, and because the consumption is augmented by the opportunity of selling at a more commodious price. The low rate of interest, and the moderate value of the merchandizes, are naturally derived from an extended commerce, which, by the production of great funds, diminishes the interest and the gains. There being such an intimate connexion between the causes and effects, the interest of money may be considered as the true barometer of the prosperity of a kingdom ; as the sure token of the activity of

its traffic ; and the most certain proof of the rapid circulation of wealth.

The amount of the specie existing in a kingdom, is not a certain indication of the state of its commerce, which may flourish in an extraordinary degree, without its produce being equalled by the former. England, which, in 1783, raised the value of her manufactures to fifty-one millions sterling, and, in 1784, to sixty-eight millions thirty thousand pounds, did not reckon, comprehending Scotland, more than thirty millions of circulating specie in gold, and seven in silver. Consequently, notwithstanding the free trade may, as has been alleged, have diminished the amount of the specie circulating in the viceroyalty of Peru, it does not follow from this principle, that it has been the cause of the decay of its commerce.

Hume observes, in his Political Essays, that there is not a more infallible mean of reducing the value of specie, than the establishment of banks, public funds, and paper credit. If the latter be multiplied in abundance, the other effects will become proportionally scarce ; and in this manner, a great part of the precious metals will find their way abroad. For, seeing that paper has not any estimation out of the country which bestows on it a nominal value, it will not enter into the combinations of the foreign merchant, whose aim will be to extract the specie, which is alike precious in every kingdom.

These reflections have been confirmed by experience. Before the introduction of paper credit into the Anglo-American colonies, gold and silver were in abundant circulation, but as soon as that medium was established, the above metals al-

most

most entirely disappeared. The small sum of specie which circulates in England, in proportion to her very extensive commerce, is accounted for, by political writers, on the principle of the multiplicity of bills, notes, and other similar effects; while the advantages which France derives*, on that score, are ascribed to the scarcity of these circulating *media*.

That of copper money, the introduction of which was attempted in South America in 1542, but which was entirely abandoned on account of the resistance of the natives, who, in less than a year, contemptuously buried in the rivers and lakes more than a million of piastres of that metallic currency, cannot but be prejudicial in a country, the principal produce of which consists of gold and silver, and which ought to foster the idea, however illusory it may be, that the true and efficient riches of the state reside in their abundance. To debase them by a competition with another token, would be to abate the ardour of those who are engaged in extracting them from the mines; and would revive the just grounds on which the erroneous policy of Spain was condemned, when she prohibited tissues of gold and silver.

The citizens of Genoa were interdicted, on severe penalties, the use of services of china, but were free to substitute in their stead those of gold and silver. In recurring to this measure, the government of that republic wisely foresaw that, by lowering the estimation of these metals, the state would by degrees be exhausted of them, and reduced to a real indigence, relatively to the other nations which did not receive in payment the paper and copper tendered to them as specie.

* This dissertation was penned in 1791.

These evident reflections with respect to other kingdoms, bear still more forcibly on South America, where silver may be regarded as the principal produce. In the same way as it would be absurd in an agricultural nation, to endeavour to augment industry and the productions of the soil, by locking up the seeds in the granaries, and introducing, as equivalents, others calculated for the subsistence of man; so is it a palpable error to suppose, that the introduction of a copper or paper currency, would be useful to Spain and her possessions in America.

What has been done, with a view to remedy the inconveniences arising from the want of small coins, to give vigour to the circulation, and to extend it to each of the classes and quantities, has been better contrived, by the new expedient of the *quartillos*, or fourths of reals, which are now coining. Their employment will constantly maintain that precious metal in its real estimation, at the same time that the returns will become more rapid and extensive, by the introduction of tokens representing the smaller values.

The idea entertained by several writers, that commerce is produced and supported by scarcity, is erroneous. If, for instance, by several unexpected events, there should be a destruction of the one half of the productions of both hemispheres, it is certain that the necessities would be immense; but it is equally so, that trade would be greatly diminished. In the viceroyalty of Lima, silver appears to be in a less proportion, because it does not come in contact with the articles which are not marketable, and which remain stagnant, without sale or price, because the true principle of the vendible estimation and value does not reside in the numerical and abstract

strict proportion of the buyers and sellers, but in the greater or less quantity of the productions. The number of importers has been augmented in a very considerable degree; but the consumption having been invariably the same, the competition they have entered into has obliged them to endeavour to lighten themselves, at a loss even, of a heavy burthen which they could not transport elsewhere. Let the importations be once brought to the level of the annual produce, and there will cease to be any complaints against the useful and profitable system of a free trade.

The loud clamours which have been raised against the Company of the Philippine Islands, and against the deputation of the Five Corporations of Madrid, have been founded on a persuasion that they have been destructive of the commerce of private individuals, and have absorbed all that the viceroyalty can maintain, by the excessive importations of their immense funds, and by the facility with which they can sell at a more commodious and reduced price.

It is agreed on all hands, that the advancement and prosperity of great companies have in general been attended by the destruction of private trade, which finds it impracticable to enter into a competition with such powerful bodies, capable of undertaking the greatest enterprizes, and of supporting the repeated losses to which commerce is subjected by its variations. It is also true, that several of these companies have resorted to the odious, unjust, and arbitrary proceeding, of lowering the sales to such a degree as to occasion a sacrifice of a part of the capital advanced on the purchases. The private merchant has thus been defeated in his intention of trading to the same destination; and, although the countries in which this has been practised,

practised, may have been momentarily benefited by the cheapness of the merchandizes, they have been deprived of the constant advantages of the competition.

If this criminal procedure cannot be suspected in the companies of which we have spoken, on account of the patriotic zeal with which they have concurred towards the national felicity, their having entered into the common traffic of the kingdom without any distinct privileges, and without any variation either of the cargoes or duties, is a security against any apprehension of their fatal preponderance.

SECTION III.

“Those by whom we are governed,” observes a profound politician, “have merely the time to govern us:” thus implying, that their attention being drawn to the immense and complicated objects of rule and authority, it is not possible that it should be extended to the different relations and circumstances which enter into the organization of each particular province. Notwithstanding, therefore, the destructive principles which have hastened the decline of Peru, may be confidently disclosed, and pointed out with certainty, it is not surprising that, having been introduced under the description of public benefits, they have, on that specious pretext, been continued without remission.

As a meet remedy for the present abject state of Peru, and as the true source of an infallible prosperity, the encouragement of agriculture, and the most vigilant endeavours to augment the productions of the soil, have been strenuously recommended. This proposition, repeated by inexperience,
and

and assented to without investigation, must yield to a discussion of the invincible obstacles which prevent an unwearied application to agricultural pursuits.

From the very nature of the soil, climate, and situation of the greater part of the lands, they cannot be ploughed with any prospect of advantage. Either they are immense parched deserts, without any irrigation or refreshing moisture, if we except the small portion of humidity they receive from heaven; or frozen mountains, which, being condemned to a perpetual rigidity, are not susceptible of such a degree of culture as would hold out the reasonable hope of a crop.

There is no doubt but that the produce might be augmented to a certain degree by the melioration of the lands, and the constant ploughing of the extensive plains; since there are many of them to which the water collected by the rains might, as well as the currents of the large rivers, be directed, at the same time that the vices inherent in the soil might be corrected by artificial means.

By such resources the Spanish provinces of Biscay and Guipuzcoa, naturally steril, have been rendered so fertile as to yield, on the greater part of their grounds, two distinct annual crops. It is owing to the same cause that Catalonia, although a mountainous territory, is represented as one of the best cultivated provinces of Spain. It would not be expedient, however, to undertake works of such an immense expence in Peru, seeing that they would not repay the funds indispensable to their execution, and would not elevate the viceroyalty to a great pitch of prosperity.

It consists in the augmented number of vassals, and not in the excessive extent of territory. By men the lands are cultivated,

vated, and the commerce and circulation of their produce exercised and facilitated ; it being evident that a depopulated state cannot make any successful progress in these branches of industry. But, in the same way as every kingdom has need of agriculture for its subsistence, so has every increase, to be sustained, need of a population either proper or extraneous, that is, of purchasers who may secure to the cultivator the enjoyment of the fruit of his labours. Where there is, therefore, a deficiency of hands for the rural operations, and of mouths for the consumption, encouragement is void ; inso-much, that abundance itself, far from constituting riches, becomes real and substantial misery.

If the situation of Peru be regulated by these principles, it must be acknowledged that there are insuperable difficulties and impediments, which oppose the ideal projects of felicity founded on the augmentation of her natural productions, and on the assiduous cultivation of her plains. Compared with her extensive territory, the population forms what may be termed a desert : a million of inhabitants, or, according to the highest computation, a million and four hundred thousand, is a sad disproportion to so many leagues of extent.

Spain, in a smaller space, maintained in the time of Julius Cæsar fifty-two millions of souls. It appears by a discourse addressed, in 1624, to the churches of Castille, by Manrique, Bishop of Bajadoz, that in his time there was a deficiency of seven parts in ten of the ancient population ; and, according to the national political writers, this vacuity is the real cause of there being, in one of the most fertile provinces, that of Estramadura, uncultivated lands capable of producing more than

than twenty thousand measures* of corn. Throughout the extent of the kingdom, it is added, from eight to ten thousand square leagues of the richest land in Europe lie without culture.

Such a reduction of the ancient population must be highly detrimental to the prosperity of Spain ; but that of Peru being still more considerable, is attended by more serious losses, and renders the application of a remedy proportionably difficult. In the enumeration which was made in 1551, by virtue of a royal mandate, the commissioners appointed for that purpose returned eight millions two hundred and fifty-five thousand *Indians* of either age and sex ; but as the population of the provinces which now form the viceroyalties of Santa Fé and Buenos-Ayres was comprehended in this number, the aggregate amount does not militate against the principle which it has been the aim of this dissertation to establish, that America has always been a country thinly peopled.

The depopulation which is so much to be deplored, has been, however, accelerated in an extreme degree, by the multiplied causes which, in two centuries and a half, have united to contribute to the extermination of the Indians. The small-pox, unknown in Peru until the year 1588, was the devastating scourge of that nation, as it has constantly been of every uncivilized tribe, the individuals constituting which, expose, by their nudity, the body to the impressions of the air, and acquire, by the use of pigments and oleaginous frictions, to preserve them from the annoying bites of insects, a

* The measure (*fanega*), the half of the sextier, weighs about 120 pounds.

hard and callous skin, which prevents the free exudation from the pores requisite to the preservation of health.

The violent labours in the mines ; the immoderate introduction of spirituous liquors ; and the oppressive service of the *metas**, which, separating the Indian from his little inheritance, and depriving him of the society of his wife and children, forces him to banish himself to a distance of two or three hundred leagues, exposed to all the inconveniences of travelling, and to the diversity of climates, to be buried in the gloomy bowels of the earth, where the air he respires is replete with foul and pestilential vapours ;—all these causes have so effectually conspired to their destruction, that the number of Indians of the different classes, sexes, and ages, in the whole of the jurisdiction of the viceroyalty of Lima, does not at this time amount to seven hundred thousand.

A similar depopulation has been observed in the other parts of South America. In the diocese of Mexico, which, according to authentic documents, contained, in the year 1600, five hundred thousand tributary Indians, not more than one hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred and eleven could be found, when an enumeration was made in 1741. The population of the tribe of Los Angeles, which was estimated, at the former of the above epochs, at two hundred and fifty-five thousand souls, was reduced, at the latter, to eighty-eight thousand two hundred and forty. That of Oaxaca, which amounted to a hundred and fifty thousand, was diminished to

* This personal service of the Indians, in the royal mines of Peru, is explained in the note at the foot of page 78

forty-four thousand two hundred and twenty-two. In all the other districts there was a proportionate diminution.

This immense vacuity is not to be ascribed to the Spanish possessions alone: it appears to be the destiny of all uncultivated and savage nations, to be extinguished by a proximity to, and communication with, those that are civilized and enlightened. The five powerful nations of Canada, which, in 1530, brought fifteen thousand warriors into the field, could not, at the present time, assemble three thousand. In 1730, thirty thousand natives resided on the western coast of Greenland: the numbers were reduced, in 1746, to nineteen thousand; and in 1770, did not amount to seven thousand.

To repair, in the Americas, this very mischievous deficiency, recourse was had to the introduction of negroes at a very early date after the discovery. If it were to our purpose to dwell on the totality of the supplies drawn from Africa, and which, on a fair estimate, may amount annually to forty thousand, we should find, that since the year 1517, the epoch of the first importation, to that of 1790, nearly eleven millions of these unfortunate creatures have been transplanted from their native soil. But, setting aside those required by other nations for their establishments, the annual importation into the viceroyalty of Lima may be regulated at five hundred, that number coming the nearest to the computation of the ninth article of the assiento treaty.

The Africans thus imported are, however, so many individuals lost to the growth of the population. The radical defect of the climate, which, in the new world, according to the opinion of several celebrated naturalists, resists the multiplication of the human species, is sensibly evinced in the ne-

groes, who would become utterly extinct, if their continual mortality were not to be supplied by repeated importations.

The melancholy which oppresses them on seeing themselves reduced to so hard a condition of slavery ; the cruel treatment inflicted on them for the slightest causes ; the insufficiency and unwholesome quality of their food ; and the rigorous tasks from which the females themselves are not exempted, at the close of their pregnancy, and immediately after the birth ; are so many principles destructive of their propagation.

If it has failed in a proportionate degree, the Africans who are free from these galling chains have not been deficient in reproduction ; but it has been of a nature so prejudicial to the kingdom, as to have repeatedly called for the interference of the legislature. It consists of that mixture of the different casts, which, by the depuration of successive generations, acquires at the fourth a colour perfectly white ; in the same way as we perceive, in the same number of filiations, but in an inverse progression, the transition from white to black.

The European emigrants embarked on board the fleets and galleons, were almost all of them buried in the sepulchre of the Spaniards ; by which name Porto-Bello is known, on account of the morbid temperature of the air. In one instance, no less than six hundred of them perished in the space of a week ; and such in general was the mortality which ensued, that it became necessary to discontinue the embarkations. Those who, to avoid these perils, proceeded to Peru, and those who have since been conveyed thither by the route of Cape Horn, either have been persons who, availing themselves of the means they possessed to acquire a fortune, have returned to spend it in their own country ; or those who, discouraged at
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the contemplation of the hard lot reserved for their posterity, by an exclusion from the first and most honourable distinctions in society, have embraced celibacy, that they might not beget an offspring whose sole inheritance would be an obscure poverty ; or, lastly (and this reflection is extended to the above-mentioned casts), that description of vagabonds and disorderly persons, who have no other resources for their advancement, except the vain and fruitless desire of acquiring riches. Individuals of this description do not increase and multiply, because the principal rule for the propagation of living creatures is subsistence. A species is augmented or diminished, in proportion to the means it possesses of procuring nourishment. The she wolves are more prolific than the ewes ; and there are, notwithstanding, more rams than wolves.

If, therefore, the deficiency of hands for the rural operations, and the small internal consumption of the productions, be, in Peru, insuperable obstacles to the progress of agriculture ; that which is opposed to the external commerce, by the distance of the country, by its local situation, and by the want of canals, bridges, and roads, to facilitate the traffic, and reduce the expences of the carriage and transport, is not less so. Without these resources, to aid the sales and exports of the superfluous commodities, there can be neither commerce, culture, nor communication. They are, in the body politic, what the blood-vessels are in the human body : if the latter give a free passage to the blood, and maintain motion and life, the former redouble and sustain the transmittals and exchanges, augmenting in a similar degree the activity and bulk of the enterprizes. The prejudices occasioned by this defect, have been recently pointed out, with much energy, by
a Spaniard,

a Spaniard*, whose reflections on the promotion of agriculture, in a great measure conformable to those we have hazarded, have been very favourably received by the public.

Without the aid of roads, canals, and bridges, distances are enlarged; the interposition of a precipice, a river, an enclosure, or other similar impediment, subjecting the traveller to an infinite number of unnecessary windings and deviations from the track he has to pursue. The active circulation is deadened; since the swamps which continually occur render the passage impracticable, and expose the guide himself to the greatest risks. The cultivated grounds suffer in a remarkable degree, because, with a view to avoid the morasses, the travellers and beasts of burthen turn aside into the corn fields, where they form, in every direction, paths which afford a ready entrance to the flocks and wild beasts; thus defeating the aim of the cultivator, who had employed his best efforts to exclude them from his possession.

These invincible obstacles are the cause why that particular commerce, which consists of the purchase of productions in one province, to sell them in another, is unknown in Peru; as is likewise, on the same account, the employment of carriages, by which the advantages of the transport are doubled; since, if two horses can carry on the back five quintals, they will, with less labour, when harnessed to a cart, draw a load of ten quintals, or even more. The merchandizes being subject both to heavy expences, and wearisome delays, their circulation and exportation are rendered in a manner impracticable.

* Don Nicholas Arriquibar, in the Sixth Paper of his Political Recreations.

There

There can be no doubt but that the assurance of the consumption is the sole regulation of the crop. If the cultivator be denied the opportunity of disposing of the superfluity of his productions, he will be careless about an abundance which will not be profitable, and will confine himself to the planting and rearing of what is simply necessary. When he perceives that the commodities remain unsold for want of purchasers, he will diminish the number of his daily labourers, and the expences attendant on the improvement of the soil, invoking, as his sole refuge, a scarcity, which, by fixing a regular price on the different productions, may repay him for his time, fatigues, and expences.

The heaviest and most inevitable originate in the distance. As it surcharges the effects in their conveyance and transport, it weakens the principle of activity, and utterly prevents a competition with the prices of foreign productions. Great Britain, as an island, has comparatively but a small distance from the sea to the lands situated in the interior. France, by the means of rivers and canals, facilitates the approach to her ports, and in this manner acquires an advantage over other rival nations, by the irresistible recommendation of an inferior price.

In Peru, the productions are to be brought from a distance of forty or fifty leagues. In transporting them, all the delays and embarrassments of roads scarcely practicable, are to be encountered ; and, as an internal consumption is entirely out of the question, they are afterwards to be exposed to the risks of a prolonged navigation, the extent of which, the difficulty of procuring vessels, and the bulk of the merchandizes, super-add

add new charges, which occasion an inevitable loss in the sale.

We will suppose, for instance, a moderate traffic in sugar and cotton, such as has been already established in wool. The consumption of the former of these articles exceeds, in Spain, a hundred and twenty thousand quintals, of which Madrid expends between thirteen and fourteen thousand in chocolate, sweetmeats, and sirops. This production might be easily augmented in Peru, and would be certain of finding a sale in the mother country, which is under the necessity of making large purchases in foreign markets. Without entering, however, into a serious refutation of the supposed advantages its cultivation presents over that of any other production, and which have been so highly extolled by a modern writer, the Abbé Raynal, we will confine ourselves to a comparison between what might be undertaken, and what has already been effected by the Spanish and foreign establishments, to demonstrate the loss which the colony of Peru would sustain, on account of its greater distance, in the very production by which other colonies gain.

In the space of five years, commencing with 1748, a hundred and seventy thousand eight hundred quintals of moist sugars were exported from the Havannah, at which island the prime cost was five piastres six reals per quintal, and that of the freightage and duties, three piastres. The sale in the mother country amounted to nine piastres two reals ; and, consequently, the importers gained a clear profit of four reals per quintal, or of eighty-five thousand four hundred piastres on the complete sum of the importations.

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The white sugar of Martinique, which is reckoned the best produced by the foreign colonies, bearing in France a price of forty-two livres per quintal, that is, of ninety-four reals, affords, after all the expences have been deducted, a profit of five reals in that quantity. In this instance, therefore, as well as in the preceding one, a profitable branch of commerce is established.

But, in Peru, the quintal of sugar is of the value of a hundred reals. If we add a freightage of thirty-two reals, the lowest estimate that can be made, in consequence of the more remote distance respectively to the Havannah, which pays twenty-three reals, the cost will become such as to necessitate a loss of forty per cent.

In the article of cotton, a similar loss would be sustained. The common price of the arroba, of twenty-five pounds weight, of Surinam cotton, is, in Holland, forty-nine reals. The prime cost, in the viceroyalty of Lima, is five piastres; and if to this sum a freightage of three piastres be added, its value will be found to be augmented so considerably, as totally to prevent a competition with the foreign markets.

It appears, therefore, to be demonstrable, that Peru, for want either of an internal or extraneous consumption, as well as on account of its local position, and of the different invincible obstacles which have been deduced, cannot aspire to an extensive commerce of productions. It ought consequently to confine itself to a greater extraction of gold and silver; and should so proportion the importations from the mother country, as that the introduction of merchandizes should not exceed the annual produce of these metals, that being the sole rule of a just and salutary equipoise. The Peruvian mines are well

known to abound in metallic riches of every kind. The attention bestowed on them ought to correspond with this natural privilege; instead of which, many productive mines have been unnecessarily abandoned, as is proved by the very diminished consumption of quicksilver in Peru.

It cannot be denied that the disposition of the lands, which, from the summit of the Cordilleras, observe a constant declination towards the sea, has frequently occasioned the inundation of very extensive and distinguished tracts of mineral territory. That the small produce of many mines, and the low estimation of their ores, have occasioned them to be abandoned by their proprietors, who were not repaid the expences of working them. And that the scarcity of hands, which has been general in all the provinces, must necessarily have occasioned a smaller extraction, and a less assiduous culture.

That many of the mines, to come at which deep excavations have been made in the earth, are occupied by running waters, is rather to be ascribed to the want of cultivation and encouragement, than to any defectiveness of the soil. This mischief may therefore be remedied by a certain share of intelligence, and a proper management. In the mean time, a speedy compensation may be found, in the immense number of those which present themselves in an unwrought state, in the greater number of the mountains. If, in the case of others, the inferior quality of the ores does not repay the expences of refining, it is because, in Peru, metallurgy has been reduced to a traditional practice, in which the waste has been greater than the riches that have been collected.

A century and a half have elapsed since this immense loss was first lamented by a native writer, whose work is of high
authority

authority on this subject. In his Treatise on the Art of refining Metals, Don Alonzo Barba, rector of San Bernardo in Potosi, makes the following observations: "It may be asserted without exaggeration, that many thousands of piastres have been lost, as well in the extraction of the metallic substance from the ores, the qualities and differences of which have not been well understood; as in the disproportionate expenditure of quicksilver, of which upwards of two hundred and thirty-four thousand seven hundred quintals have been consumed, in the space of sixty-three years*, in the imperial city of Potosi. Those who have been engaged in this pursuit, have, in the management of the ores, proceeded at random, and without any fundamental rules, or certain information relative to the silver they contained, and might be made to yield."

Notwithstanding the ignorance of mineralogy was attended by such prejudicial consequences, it would be difficult to believe, that it reached the unfortunate extreme which is described in an ancient and authentic document by Don Francisco Texada, intendant of the mine of Guadalcanal, dated in 1607. Speaking of the productiveness of many of the ores dug from the silver mines of Europe, each quintal of which yielded fifteen, thirty, and even sixty marks of the pure metallic substance, he adds as follows: "In the celebrated mountain of Potosi, which is now working, there is not a greater produce than one ounce and a half of pure and limpid silver, from each quintal of metallic earth, or stone, which is extracted; or, in other words, one thousand six hundred

* The treatise from which this quotation is made, was published in 1637.

ounces of the above-mentioned earth, yield an ounce and a half only of silver." It is not, however, possible to reconcile so small a gain with the annual produce of four millions two hundred and fifty thousand forty-three piastres, resulting from an average estimate of the first ninety-three years during which the mines of Potosi were wrought. This was the amount of the coinage; but the extraction of silver was still greater, it having been annually carried to five thousand quintals.

This fecundity was calculated to draw the public attention exclusively to the above mineral territory, and to throw a discredit on all the other mines of Peru, which were not capable of yielding collectively more than a thousand quintals of silver. Of this produce, Oruro supplied seven hundred quintals; Castro Virreyna, two hundred; and the remainder belonged to the excavated mountains. At Potosi, however, the encouragement was equal to the abundance of the acquired riches. Thirteen thousand Indians were placed on a permanent establishment, and constantly engaged in the different tasks assigned to them; at the same time that five thousand quintals of mercury were annually consumed, in separating the metal from the ores. This extraordinary consumption was owing to the ignorant method of assigning to each quintal of silver, an equal quantity of that necessary ingredient.

It would appear that the epoch is not very distant, when the clouds which have hitherto obscured the Peruvian horizon, in this *docimastic* part, as well as in all the other branches of mineralogy, will be dispersed. The expedition which has, with this view, been confided by His Catholic Majesty to the direction

direction of Baron Northenflcht, holds out a prospect of the highest improvements. If, as there can be little doubt, it should realize the flattering expectations the public has formed, it will not ameliorate the condition of the miner, without, at the same time, giving prosperity both to commerce and agriculture.

The latter ought not, on any consideration, to be abandoned. We have inculcated the preference that should be bestowed on the working of the mines, which must engage our particular attention, because they are the sources of our riches ; but we ought not to neglect the precautions to which our plains are entitled. To know how to profit by them ; to better their quality ; to give them the advantages of irrigation ; and to facilitate the transport of their productions ; such are the principles of the prosperity of our agriculture, from which greater advantages may be derived than our commerce can be made to afford.

The criticism, or applause, of all the ideas exposed in this Dissertation, we leave to the opinion and judgment of our readers. It belongs to the chief magistrate to combine them ; to analyze them ; and either to stamp them with the seal of his approbation, or to reject and lay them aside. This operation is appropriate to the supreme authority, which, in calculating the abuses and benefits, destroys the former, while it preserves in its integrity each profitable establishment. It is the result of those rapid and delicate perceptions, which at the same time discover the end and the means, the resources and the obstacles, the facilities and the inconveniences, and which, being the effect of a natural talent, are not to be acquired by precepts.

It

It is a matter of regret, but not of surprize, that the fourth and last part of the above Dissertation was suppressed by the very authority, the chief magistrate of Peru, whom the author compliments in closing his third part. That any portion of such a dissertation should have been allowed to meet the public view, under a government similar to that of the Spanish colonies, must appear extraordinary to those who have paid any attention to its contents. The destruction of the Indian tribes, in consequence of the hard labours to which they are subjected by the oppressive service of the *mita*, and which, combined with other circumstances, threaten their speedy extermination; the avowal, at the same time, that they are indispensably necessary to the prosperity of the mines; the inconsiderable produce of the mines themselves, when compared with the advantages that might be derived from them; and the cruelties exercised on the wretched negroes; are points which it is well to know, but which, it might have been expected, prudence, or the mandate of authority, would have concealed. The Academical Society of Lima has attempted to excuse the omission of the fourth part of the Dissertation, by the following

APPENDIX.

IN the preceding Dissertation, the fruit of the meditations, and of the eloquent pen of our *Cephalio*, it has been deemed necessary to omit various particulars, which, however they may be adapted to a ministerial work, are superior to the comprehension and limits of a periodical publication, similar to that of the Peruvian Mercury. A reform which
should

should tend to simplify the plan of the custom-houses, and render them of easier access ; the exposition of the prejudicial influence which the intermediate traffic of Buenos-Ayres has on the commerce of Peru ; the project proposed in the year 1739, and latterly renewed, of rendering quicksilver a branch of free trade, &c. &c. ; which compose the fourth and last part, are great conceptions, which realize, in the present production, the elevated views the author entertained when he engaged in this very useful labour.

PART V.

THE PERUVIAN CAPITAL.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL REFLECTIONS ON THE POPULATION OF LIMA.

THERE is not any object which has a greater tendency to excite the curiosity of man, than a knowledge of the degree of relation in which he stands with those of his species, subject to the same legislation, and united to the same social body. This principle, when confined to the art of governing a state, is more particularly interesting, because it is the basis of all the calculations which refer to the universal felicity of nations. The Roman republic, the honour of which, acquired by arms, was sustained by the sagacity of its political combinations, was fully sensible of this truth, as is demonstrated by the frequent recensions of the population, made, not only in the capital, but in every part of its extensive domains. The general recension ordered by Augustus is the most remarkable in the records of christianity, because the Blessed Redeemer was born at the time of its verification. The writers who were acquainted with all the importance of this subject, introduced into the plan of their productions a variety of reflections, having for their aim a computation of the total number of all living human beings. As it has been impossible, however, to found the conjectures on any fixed *data*, inasmuch as there cannot have been any other fundamental

mental helps, beside the faith to be reposed in books, and the uncertain testimony of opinion, we observe a great contrariety in the results of all these calculators. The enumerations of Father Riccioli are almost invariably framed on round and exaggerated numbers. The thousand millions of inhabitants he imagines the earth to contain, are reduced to the one half by Isaac Vossius, in his work entitled "*Opus variorum Observationum.*" Jacob Usher, or Usserius, takes the mean of this difference; and the Marquis of St. Aubin modifies it, and shows it to be doubtful. These discrepancies and uncertainties are not, in reality, attended by any consequences prejudicial to the practical system of society; but it is not the same when a particular reference is made, to a determinate country, to a city, the necessities of which are constantly in proportion to its inhabitants. The positive knowledge of their number, classes, and conditions, has a direct and immediate influence on their good government, and on the welfare of all. For this reason, one of the earliest objects of the solicitude of every zealous administrator, has constantly been to obtain a precise knowledge of the number and circumstances of those residing within the boundaries of his government. Lima, which reckons, in the series of its viceroys, many who were enlightened in an extraordinary degree, has had repeated occasions to witness the enrolment of those who reside within its precincts. That which has been recently ordered by his excellency the present viceroy, will form an epoch in the annals of Peru. This undertaking, the monument of his wisdom and profound meditations, will prove to posterity the love which that country has constantly merited from the chief magistrates by whom it has been governed,

and will serve as a guide to the calculations of future politicians.

The first enumeration made in this capital, according to the documents which have been handed down to the present times, was in the year 1600, when the Marquis of Salinas was viceroy of Peru. The total number of the inhabitants amounted to fourteen thousand two hundred and sixty-two. An original note in manuscript, which refers to this subject, and which is in our possession, states that doubts were thrown on the accuracy of the above number, by suspicions of concealment on the part of the inhabitants, who were constantly disposed to apprehend that the registers of the population were framed with a view to the levying of a new tribute. These doubts were in some measure justified in the progress of time.

In the year 1614, under the viceroyalty of the Marquis of Montes-Claros, an enumeration was made of the inhabitants of Lima, within the limits of which twenty-five thousand four hundred and fifty-four persons were found. The augmentation of eleven thousand one hundred and ninety-two souls, in the lapse of fourteen years, which results, without the concurrence of any extraordinary causes, is so very rapid and considerable, as to justify the opinion that there was an incorrectness in the preceding enumeration. Provided this was not the case, it is at least certain, that there never has been since, in the capital of Peru, so great an augmentation in a similar space of time.

His excellency Count Monclova, who was removed from the government of New Spain to that of Lima in the year 1689, being desirous to obtain a precise knowledge of the
number

number of persons, capable of bearing arms, to be found in Lima, ordered a new enrolment of the population to be drawn up in 1700. It afforded a product of thirty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty-nine inhabitants, including the religious votaries of both sexes, Indians, slaves, &c. We were somewhat surprized to find, in the manuscript work above referred to, in which all the details of this enumeration are given, that either through the inexactitude or insincerity of many individuals, there was the same concealment as in 1600*. We shall now proceed to a short comparison between this statement and the one we are about to publish.

Lima has, since that time, been augmented in its extent, its population, and its resources; with the exception, however, that in certain classes there has been a diminution. For instance, no less than three thousand eight hundred and sixty nuns, and their attendants, were then immured in cloisters. The Monastery of the Incarnation alone contained eight hundred and twenty-seven souls, including four hundred and thirty-four domestics. That of Santa Clara reckoned six hundred and thirty, in which number one hundred and seventy-two nuns of the black veil were comprehended. In the convent of La Concepcion there were one thousand and forty-one inmates, the female attendants alone amounting to five hundred and sixty-one. When these sums are compared

* However this concealment may have tended to diminish the designated amount of the population, there can be no doubt of an exaggeration on the part of Doctor Montalbo, when, in his work entitled *El Sol del Nuevo Mundo* (the Sun of the New World), written in 1683, he assigned to Lima a population of upwards of eighty thousand souls.

with those contained in the demonstrative plan annexed to the present reflections, the losses which celibacy occasioned, in this particular way, will be seen. The misfortune is, that the marriages have not been augmented, in proportion to the decrease of the numbers of the female votaries of religion.

Those of the monks have likewise undergone a similar diminution. In the above statement the total amount of them was two thousand one hundred and fifty-five, including lay brothers, slaves, &c. The Dominicans were the most numerous, the four houses belonging to that institution having contained four hundred and twenty-eight souls. The Franciscans were in number three hundred and ninety-three; the Augustins, three hundred and twenty-one; and the Mercedarios, two hundred and forty-one. In each of these statements the domestics are constantly included. The charitable institutions stiled Beaterios have received an augmentation of eighty-four persons: formerly the number did not exceed two hundred and six; but it amounts at present to three hundred and ten. The apartments destined to contain all this population were heretofore one hundred and fifteen: they are now one hundred and seventy-nine, besides the thirty to be found in the quarter stiled El Cercado.

In the year 1746, at which time Count Superunda was viceroy of these realms, by a calculation drawn from the registers of the friars confessors, the population, including that of the adjacent territory, was rated at sixty thousand souls*.

The

* As, in the year 1700, the enumeration amounted to thirty-seven thousand two hundred and fifty-nine persons only, insomuch that there is, in the above estimate,

The devastations occasioned in the capital, by the terrible earthquake which happened in the night of the twenty-eighth of October of the above year, and the epidemical diseases by which that calamitous event was immediately followed, occasioned a decrease of the population, of from six to eight thousand souls. The enumeration having been accordingly repeated, by the same mode of framing the estimate, that is, by the books of the confessors, in the year 1757, about fifty-four thousand inhabitants were found. As there is, however, reason to suppose that the population of the plains surrounding the capital was included on this occasion also, it does not appear that the result can be employed in a direct way, in making a positive comparison between that state and the present.

This observation applies to another gross computation made in 1781, and in the years immediately following, by which the population of this capital was regulated at sixty thousand eight hundred souls, and the authors of which expressed their persuasion that it might be extended to seventy thousand. It would seem, however, that an error crept into the elementary *data* of this account ; since, by consulting the testimony of the

an excess of twenty-two thousand seven hundred and forty-one individuals, in the lapse of forty-six years, during which there was not any new cause to be assigned for an increase of population, there is every reason to suppose that the fact was exaggerated by Bravo De Castilla, from whose document this statement is drawn, with the truly politic idea, that on its coming to the knowledge of foreign nations, they would be deterred from fitting out expeditions for the South Seas, which might be attended by losses and disasters to the Spanish colonies, similar to those that accompanied the expeditions undertaken during the preceding century, and at the commencement of the eighteenth.

sight,

sight, that of the consumption of corn, the lists of deaths, births, &c. an excess in the determined quantity may be made apparent.

The present demonstrative plan, which establishes the total amount of the inhabitants of Lima at fifty-two thousand six hundred and twenty-seven, has in its favour all the presumptions which can lead to a belief, that it is the most exact, and the one approaching the nearest to the truth. We are aware that several individuals, either accidentally, or through a false conception of the aim of the enrolment, have baffled the zeal of the commissaries, by the subtraction of a portion of the population, more especially in the class of slaves; but those who have been thus concealed cannot exceed two thousand.

When the provinces which now constitute the viceroyalty of Buenos-Ayres were separated from that of Lima, many gloomy politicians, and false reasoners, predicted the speedy annihilation of this city; at the same time that ignorance expatiated on the necessity of the commerce being again established on the footing of the galleons. Practical experience has demonstrated the falsehood of these conceptions. The free trade, a benefit which has not experienced a meet return of grateful acknowledgment, has filled up the void which the above political partition may have made in the interests and population of the capital of Peru. In reality, since the epoch when every advantage was first taken of this freedom of intercourse, Lima has increased in size about one-fifth, as the buildings which have been recently constructed sufficiently testify. Don Manuel De Leon, perpetual regidor of police, has built over a great extent of ground, which before lay waste, extending from the Piti garden to the ancient erections
without

without the town. He has covered with buildings two orchards, having an extent of a hundred and twenty toises each, and has nearly completed a third range of edifices. These new structures comprehend a convent, two hundred and seven doors fronting the street, and four lanes containing fifty-three dwellings. The Pampa-de-Lara, the buildings surrounding the orange groves, those on the road leading to the promenade of the bare-footed friars, part of the Venturosa, &c. are all of modern structure.

Lima, in its present state, contains two hundred and nine *quadrads*, or squares of buildings, which comprise eight thousand two hundred and twenty-two doors of dwelling-houses and shops, and branch out into three hundred and fifty-five streets. For the convenience of the police, and for the maintenance of good order among the inhabitants, the city is divided into four quarters, which are again subdivided into thirty-five districts, in each of which there is an alcaid, chosen from among the individuals of the most distinguished rank.

The houses are three thousand nine hundred and forty-one in number. Of these, nine hundred and sixty-nine are holden in mortmain; and in this number the one hundred and fifty-seven belonging to the religious communities are comprehended. On this head it has been observed by a celebrated national writer, Don Joseph Borda, that “the laws of South America strictly prohibit the alienation of the funds in mortmain; but, in consequence of this prohibition, the greater part of these funds are ecclesiastical: insomuch, that it is a rare occurrence to find a house or tenement, which, if it do not belong entirely to the church, is not burthened with a fine, or seignoral rent.”

With

With the free trade, this capital has gained much in the resources which contribute to its maintenance, and to the conveniences of life. Until the present time, coffee-houses, and banking-houses, were unknown to the inhabitants of Lima. The magazines of different descriptions were fewer by at least a third. Notwithstanding this, many persons are to be found, more especially among the abettors of the ancient system, who delight in expatiating on the poverty of Lima, and who regret the times and customs that are past. To form a just estimate of this opinion, it is necessary to come to an agreement as to the acceptation of what they name poverty. If they make it refer to those overgrown capitals which were to be found, at the commencement, and even in the middle of the eighteenth century, in the hands of a few persons, sometimes unjust, or, at the least, the sole masters of the prices, and which capitals do not exist at the present time; if they mean to say, that the country is poor, because the gains in each enterprize are small, in proportion as they are divided among many; in that very suspicious point of view they are right. But if their proposition be considered as it relates to the common felicity, then are they manifestly wrong. To be satisfied of this truth, let the present free and rapid circulation of specie be considered, and the greater degree of prosperity which results from the mediocrity of condition of the citizens, all of whom, from the merchant down to the petty trader and the artisan, are easy in their circumstances. The direct navigation, the erection of a custom-house, the enlargement of the public warehouses for tobacco, and the augmentation of the troops, have multiplied the sources of circulation. The game of chances
alone,

alone*, which was formerly poor and limited, but which is now become a substitute to the great lotteries of Europe, causes from two to three thousand piastres to circulate weekly. The ornaments of the houses, the dresses of the inhabitants, the carriages, &c. are neater, more commodious, and even more brilliant, than they were twenty years ago. Of what importance is it that they are not intrinsically so rich?

By a comparison between the demonstrative plan, and the present state of Madrid, it will be found that Lima, in proportion to its inhabitants, has the advantage in the number of its hospitals, as well as in that of its students. In the last recension of the population of the city and court of Madrid, one hundred and fifty-six thousand six hundred and seventy-two individuals were comprized ; and, notwithstanding, there are eight hospitals only which have their beds occupied, those of the other six being vacant ; and seven hundred and twenty-seven students. Such a comparison will justify the praises we bestowed on our beloved country, when we observed, that “ throughout Peru, knowledge is general, as well on account of the innate quickness and penetration of its native inhabitants, as through their fondness for study.” It will also evince, that among us humanity has constantly triumphed.

Series of the recensions made at Lima, with the increase or diminution of the population since the year 1600.

	Years.	Recensions.	Increase.	Diminution.
In	1600	14.262	.....	.....
	1614	25.455	11.192	.....
	1700	37.259	11.805	.....
	1746	60.000	22.741	.....
	1755	54.000	.....	6.000
	1781	60.000	6.000	.....
	1790	52.627	.....	7.373

* This game appears to be similar to that of our raffles.

DEMONSTRATIVE PLAN OF THE POPULATION OF THE CITY OF LIMA.

No. 1. RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES.

MONKS.											
Houses.	Hospitals.	Votaries.	Noviciates.	Seculars.	Lay Brothers.	Choristers.	Dome- stics.	Slaves.	Total.		
Benedictins .....	....	1	2	....	....	1	....	6	3	12
Geronims .....	....	1	1	....	....	....	....	2	....	3
MENDICANTS.											
Dominicans	4	....	161	7	36	29	1	11	27	272
Franciscans	2	....	139	6	36	47	....	1	13	242
Barefooted Friars	1	....	20	3	10	16	....	1	10	60
Missionaries of Ocopa ..	....	1	2	....	1	....	....	....	1	4
Augustins	3	....	135	8	25	9	....	24	26	227
Fathers of Mercy	3	....	146	12	27	6	5	10	22	228
Minims	1	....	32	5	5	9	....	13	....	64
Friars of St. Juan de Dios	1	....	7	6	30	3	....	3	4	53
Bethlemites	2	....	3	5	22	12	....	....	3	45
REGULAR CLERGY.											
Agonizantes	2	....	36	....	22	13	....	1	16	88
CONGREGATION											
Of St. Philip Neri	1	....	27	....	14	7	....	22	24	94
Totals	20	3	711	52	228	152	6	94	149	1392	
NUNS.											
Houses belonging to the Orders.	Votaries.	Novici- ates.	Lay Sis- ters.	Secular Ladies.	Ditto, of casts.	Female Domes- tics.	Female Slaves.	Lay Bro- thers.	Male Domes- tics.	Total.	
Bernardins	1	26	3	9	34	39	28	17	1	157
Dominicans	2	61	8	11	21	48	43	33	225
Franciscans	1	38	7	24	30	60	50	34	1	244
Capuchins	1	34	3	2	39
Concebidas	1	59	1	28	31	90	51	260
Ditto, barefooted	1	24	3	12	21	30	20	45	155
Augustins	2	69	7	21	31	63	46	30	1	268
Barefooted Carmelites ..	2	41	36	1	5	5	88
----- Nazarenes ..	1	31	16	47
----- Trinitarians ..	1	29	2	20	1	1	53
----- Nuns of the Order of Mercy }	1	22	2	2	17	4	2	49
Totals	14	434	33	105	170	330	276	215	9	13	1585
CONVENTUALS.											
Houses.	Votaries.	Secular Ladies.	Ditto, of casts.	Boarders.	Female Do- mestics.	Female Slaves.	Lay Bro- thers.	Total.			
Dominicans	1	16	16	....	....	19	2	....	53	
Franciscans	1	24	16	....	....	17	5	1	63	
Ditto, Indian Ladies ..	1	18	2	21	....	5	....	1	47	
Recluses	1	26	55	40	24	....	2	....	147	
Totals	4	84	89	61	24	41	9	2	310		

No. II. SECULAR ESTABLISHMENT.

QUALITIES.	In a Single State.		In a Married State.		Widowers.	Widows.	Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.			
Spaniards.....	5225	4835	2740	2603	370	1442	17,215
Indians.....	1426	929	684	631	80	162	3912
Mestizos.....	1357	1362	737	767	74	334	4631
Negroes.....	3138	2737	1200	1250	153	482	8960
Mulattoes.....	1831	2148	775	735	78	405	5972
Quarterons.....	728	815	345	290	43	162	2383
Quinterons.....	76	91	17	16	6	13	219
Zambos.....	1139	1308	312	349	102	174	3384
Chinos.....	385	414	135	117	26	43	1120
Totals.....	15,305	14,639	6945	6758	932	3217	47,796

CONDITIONS AND AVOCATIONS.

Rectors.....	10	Titularies.....	49	Attached to the military..	27
Holding livings.....	19	Rich proprietors.....	90	Holding particular offices	64
Clergy.....	229	Lawyers.....	91	Syndics of religion.....	10
Dignitaries.....	16	Scriveners.....	58	Physicians.....	21
Sacristans.....	34	Merchants.....	393	Surgeons.....	56
Notaries.....	13	Manufacturers.....	60	Bankers.....	48
Dependants on the In-	} 15	Artisans.....	1027	Receivers belonging to	} 47
quisition.....		Labourers.....	308	the religious commu-	
Ditto on the Crusades.....	6	Day-labourers.....	363	nities.....	
Students.....	366	White servants.....	474	Purveyors.....	287
Demandants.....	52	Receiving royal pay.....	426		

SERVANTS OF THE FREE CASTS.

Males.....	1284	} 2903
Females.....	1619	

SLAVES.

Males.....	5063	} 9229
Females.....	4166	

GENERAL RECAPITULATION.

Belonging to all the classes of the secular establishment.....	} Males.....	23,182	} 47,796
		Females.....	24,614
Total of all the religious votaries.....	} Males.....	991	} 1647
		Females.....	656
Living in communities without having made the vows.....	} Males.....	1564	} 3184
		Females.....	1620
Total of the population of the capital of Lima.....	} Males.....	25,737	} Grand Total, 52,627
		Females.....	26,890

No. III. CIVIL COMMUNITIES*.

COLLEGES.

	Rectors.	Masters.	Students.	Ditto on the foundation.	Domes- tics.	Slaves.	Total.
Royal college of St. Charles	1	15	55	17	11	10	109
College of Santo Toribio	1	19	23	29	9	4	85
— of the Prince of the Caciques	1	2	5	5	4	....	17
Totals	3	36	83	51	24	14	211

DITTO FOR FEMALES.

	Recto- resses.	Mistres- ses.	Girls on the foundation.	Boarders.	Female Domes- tics.	Female Slaves.	Total.
College of la Caridad	1	....	18	6	7	5	37
— of Santa Cruz, for female orphans	1	2	24	....	2	....	29
Totals	2	2	42	6	9	5	66

HOSPITALS.

	Attendants.		Medical Men.	Servants.		Sick.		Insane.		Slaves.	Total.
	Chap- lains.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		
St. Pedro, for the clergy ..	..	....	....	1	2	....	11	....	5	....	19
St. Andrew, for Spaniards	4	7	....	8	24	....	166	....	49	....	264
Espiritu Santo, for seamen	2	3	....	4	7	....	35	....	....	2	53
St. Juan de Dios, for con- valescents .....	..	....	....	....	....	....	5	....	....	2	7
Bethlemites, for ditto ..	..	....	1	....	....	....	20	3	....	3	27
Incurables .....	..	....	1	....	....	....	9	7	....	....	17
St. Lazarus	2	2	....	....	....	....	16	9	....	....	29
Spanish charity	3	3	3	3	1	14	....	74	....	6	123
Camilas .....	..	....	10	....	5	....	5	....	....	4	24
St. Ann, for Indians	4	12	3	6	16	7	108	29	....	15	200
St. Bartholomew, for merchants	3	5	1	4	5	2	86	68	....	5	184
Totals	18	32	19	26	55	28	456	195	54	11	947

ALMS-HOUSES.

	Atten- dants.	Servants.	Male Foundlings.	Female ditto.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Inclusa for foundlings	4	3	27	20	....	....	54
Spittal	1	....	....	....	29	1	31
Retreat for poor women	1	....	....	....	....	53	54
Totals	6	3	27	20	29	54	139

JAILS

	Spaniards.		Of Casts.		Atten- dants.	Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.		
Of the court	29	....	70	4	3	106
Of the city	9	....	57	5	3	74
Of the inquisition .....	....	....	....	....	1	1
Totals	38	....	127	9	7	181

* The persons belonging to them are comprehended in the preceding Tables of Population.

ERECTION AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL AUDIENCE, OR HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE, OF LIMA.

THE disorders, disturbances, and injustices inseparable from a spirit of conquest, were productive of loud complaints which reached the throne of Spain. Worldly ambition, and the insatiable thirst of riches, revived in America those disastrous times, recorded in the sacred writings*, “when there was not any king in Israel; but every man did that which was right in his own eyes.” The implacable hatred subsisting between the partizans of Almagro and Pizarro, rendered the wisest provisions of little efficacy, and perpetuated the anarchy and confusion which are at all times destructive of the prosperity and growth of a rising state. It became necessary to apply a powerful remedy to these evils; and the establishment of an audience, or high court of justice, in the capital of Peru, was considered as the one the most appropriate to such circumstances.

By a royal schedule, dated in March 1543, the Emperor Charles V. suppressed the audience of Panama, which had been erected, in 1538, to administer justice in all the Spanish possessions of Terra Firma, Rio de la Plata, New Castille, and Toledo; and ordered, by another schedule of the same date, the establishment of an audience at Lima. The inhabitants of Peru were thus freed from the painful necessity of seeking, at so great a distance, a redress of their grievances.

The number of complainants was considerable in every part

* Judges, chap. xvii. v. 6.

of the kingdom, at the time of the promulgation of the forty ordinances, for the freedom and kind treatment of the Indians, drawn up by the council appointed to regulate the affairs of America, and confirmed at Barcelona by the Emperor in November, 1542. It therefore became essential to their strict observance, to make choice of a man of integrity and good moral conduct ; which qualities having been found in Blasco Nunez Vela, inspector-general of the guards of Castille, he was appointed viceroy of Peru, and president of the royal audience, in preference to the Marechal of Navarre, and Don Antonio Leiva, who had been also named for these high employments.

The judges were appointed at the same time, and the choice fell on the licentiate Zepeda, who had held a similar employment in the Canary Isles ; on Doctor Lison De Texada, alcaid of the court of Valladolid ; on the licentiate Alvarez, advocate of that court ; and on the licentiate Pedro Ortiz De Zarate, alcaid-major of Segovia. They embarked at San Lucar, with the viceroy, in the month of November, 1543, and reached Panama on the eighteenth of February of the following year.

On the succeeding day, the licentiate Ramirez De Quinones, governor of Terra-Firma, visitor of the audience of Panama, and supreme judge of that of the confines of Guatemala and Nicaragua, ordered the licentiate Martinez, in his quality of chancellor, to deliver to the viceroy the royal seal. With the seal in his possession, the latter reached Lima on the 15th of May, 1544, without being accompanied by the judges, although they had been solicited to that effect.

This delay prevented the public entry of the royal seal from
being



Female Warrior. of the Yurimagua Tribe.

being solemnized until the first of July of the above year, when a magnificent triumphal arch was formed in front of the river, whence the seal was conducted to the entrance of the city, where another similar arch had been erected. The canopy was supported by the alcalds Nicholas De Rivera, and Alonzo Palomino, accompanied by the regidores; and the horse was led by the regidor Juan De Leon, appointed chancellor by the Marquis of Camarasa, governor of Carzola, and supreme chancellor of the Indies. The licentiates Zepeda and Alvarez took the oaths on the seal, on the above-mentioned day; the licentiate Lison, on the 14th of the month; and on the 10th of September, the licentiate Zarate, who had remained sick at Truxillo.

The entry of the royal seal implies, in the language of the Peruvian writers, that of the newly appointed viceroy into the capital. On this occasion, the procession to the vice-regal palace, situated at the north side of the great square, is marked by a splendour of decoration, a very faint idea of which would be conveyed by any description that could be given. In the festivals which ensue, to celebrate the event of the reception of the viceroy, the Indian inhabitants of Lima are not backward in displaying their fancy and taste. The female Indian, represented in *Plate V.* carrying on the head a sun, and in the hand a tomahawk, is habited as an Amazon, or female warrior of the Yurimagua tribe. Among their traditions, this one has been handed down by the modern Indians. The tomahawk is the emblem of royalty, to which the other parts of the dress are allusive.

We abstain from giving any opinion on the subject of the ruinous contests between the president and the judges.

judges. They were carried to such a length, that the former was put under arrest, to be sent back to Spain ; but afterwards recovered his liberty and the exercise of his prerogatives. He, as well as his adversaries, met with a tragical end : he fell, by the hand of a negro, in 1546, at the battle of Anaquito. The licentiate Zepeda, having been sent prisoner to Spain by the president Gasca, perished in a jail. Lison De Texada was drowned in the straits of Bahama. Alvarez, in recovering from the wounds inflicted on him at Anaquito, received, at the abode of his companion Zepeda, a mortal bite from a reptile, in a grove of almond trees ; and Zarate was poisoned by certain powders which Gonzalo Pizarro administered to him as a remedy.

To return to the division between the president and the judges. It originated on their landing at Panama, and became generally known on the imprisonment of the former, Blasco, after which event, Zepeda and Zarate took possession of the royal seal. The viceroy having, however, retained Alvarez in his company, and having been furnished with a royal schedule, which imported that an audience might be holden with one or two judges only, ordered a new seal to be opened by one of the regidors of Piura, who was afterwards, on that very account, put to death by Francisco Carvajal. It thus happened, as was observed by the historian Zarate, who was an eye-witness of these contentions, that “ there were two audiences in Peru, the one in the capital of Lima, the other with the viceroy at Piura ; and it frequently occurred, that two provisions, in direct opposition to each other, were made in the same affair.”

The audience established at Piura was dissolved by the
death

of Blasco, the president and viceroy ; and that of Lima was but of short duration. Lison having been sent prisoner to Spain, and Zepeda having set out to join the army of Gonzalo Pizarro, the above-mentioned Zarate was the only one of the judges who remained ; on which account, and the better to confirm his authority, Pizarro carried off with him the royal seal. Accordingly, when the licentiate Pedro de la Gasca was, in 1546, named president, the dispatch observed, *of the royal audience which did exist in Peru.*

Notwithstanding the new judges, Domingo Renteria, and Andres Zianca, did in reality embark with the president Gasca, the latter was prevented from establishing and regulating the order of the dispatch, by the necessity to which he was reduced, to follow the traces of Gonzalo, until his defeat and subsequent imprisonment, in the valley of Xaqui-raguna, four leagues from Cusco, which happened on the 9th of April 1548. As soon, however, as the rebel and his followers had received the punishment due to their crimes, the royal audience was established on a solid basis. On the 13th of March 1549, Melchor Bravo and Andres Zianca took their seats in their judicial capacity ; and on the 27th of June of the same year, their example was followed by the licentiates Hernando Santillana and Maldonado. These documents are extracted from an authentic MS. in the possession of the society, but which does not throw any light on the destiny of the licentiate Renteria.

The manuscript in question, which commences by the schedule of the president Blasco Nunez Vela, after stating that a salary of five thousand ducats was annexed to his office, makes the following curious extract from the schedule itself :

And because thou art not lettered, thou shalt not have any vote in the halls of justice. It is likewise accompanied by the testimony given by Nicholas Grado, public scriviner, by which it appears that, on the 26th of April 1558, the royal seal was received at Lima with every solemnity. It had been brought to Callao on the preceding day by the licentiate Saavedra, and was accompanied by the new viceroy, Don Andres Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Canete. The canopy was supported by the judges Bravo Saravia, Mercado de Penaloza, and Gonzalo de Cuenca; and the horse was led by the corregidor Sebastian Chirinos, attended by the alcaids Rodrigo Nino, and Vasco de Guevara. In this manner the procession reached the royal palace, where the seal was put into the hands of the secretary, Juan Munoz, to be delivered by him to the chancellor.

There cannot be any doubt but that this public entry was that of the royal seal transmitted to the audience of Lima by Philip II. when, by the abdication of his august father, in 1556, he entered on the government of the kingdoms of Spain and the Indies.

The above monarch, in the instructions which he gave to Don Francisco Toledo, who was received in this capital on the 26th of November 1569, apprized him of the establishment of a royal court, annexed to the audience, for the trial of criminal causes. In 1626, Philip IV. created the two posts of fiscals, which are now filled (in 1791) by the licentiates Torijos and Enciso. He, at the same time, augmented the number of judges to eight.

On the absence of the president Gasca, in 1550, the royal audience took on itself the government of the whole kingdom,

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as it has done in the different vacancies which have since occurred. Between the above intermission of the vice-regal authority, and the one occasioned by the return of the prince of Esquilache to Spain, in 1621, there were not less than five. In every similar instance, it has not only preserved the kingdom in the most tranquil state, but has been enabled, by a skilful and prudent direction, to remit to his Catholic Majesty, from the royal treasury, specie to the amount of six millions one hundred and twenty thousand eight hundred and seven ducats. In consequence of the death of the viceroy, Don Martin Henriquez, in 1583, and that of the Count of Monte-Rey, in 1606, the audiences of Charcas and Quito resumed the government of their respective districts, on pretext that the royal schedules of March 1550, and February 1577, by which it was provided that the audience of Lima should govern in the absence of the viceroys, had been dispatched prior to their establishment; but his Majesty, in a schedule dated in November 1606, disapproved of this pretension, and gave directions that the authority of the audience of Lima should extend to every part of the vice-regal dominions.

The instruction for the establishment of regents for the audiences of the Indies, in which the prerogatives and faculties of that distinguished employment are specified, bears the date of the month of June 1776, since which time the audience has not undergone any material change. From what has been precedently said, it may be collected, that the viceroy, in virtue of his office, constantly presides over this high judicial court, which is filled by eight judges, together with several fiscals and other subaltern officers.

HISTORICAL DETAILS RELATIVE TO THE PROVINCIAL COUNCILS OF
LIMA.

AMONG the many excellent institutions which distinguish the Peruvian capital, is to be reckoned that of the provincial councils celebrated there. They evince the constant zeal of the monarchs of Spain for religion and discipline ; and the pastoral vigilance of the prelates, who have spared neither pains nor labour, in the promotion of their views, and in the accomplishment of these sacred and interesting purposes.

The disturbances of which Gonzalo Pizarro was the principal instigator having been successfully terminated, and before others of a still more sanguinary nature had been excited by the open rebellion of Francisco Hernandez Giron, the fathers and prelates who resided at Lima, availed themselves of that short interval, to establish some degree of order in the affairs of the church, which, in common with all the other concerns of the republic, had been deranged, shortly after the conquest, by revolutions similar to those above pointed out. They accordingly united in a provincial council in the year 1552. Not any mention is made of the bishops who were present ; but it is extremely probable that, besides friar Geronimo Loaysa, of the order of St. Domingo, the first archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Quito and Cusco, who then resided in that city, and who, as well as the archbishop, accompanied the president Gasco to the battle of Sachahuana, constituted a part of the council. The questions which were discussed in this congregation are not noticed ; and indeed the only information now extant relates to the convocation itself. It is probable that this assembly was a kind of Peruvian *Cortes*, in which,

which, in imitation of the councils of Toledo, certain bishops being united to the magistrates of the capital, such provisions as were then required by the critical conjuncture in which the kingdom was placed, were made, both in spiritual and temporal affairs.

Loaysa continued in the discreet governance of the church, and having understood that the council of Trent, by which it was enacted that provincial councils should be holden every three years, had been concluded, confirmed, and published in Spain, he convened one, which may be considered as the second, and which was celebrated in 1567. The fathers of the church who were present at it are not named; but it is presumable that they were the same as on the preceding occasion, in conjunction with the bishop of Chile. This council having completed its deliberations, the acts were published throughout the kingdom, and their observance recommended; but having been transmitted to Spain, and thence to Rome, it was not deemed expedient to confirm them, and, still less, to allow them to be printed. Santo Toribio has left us, however, a compendium of them, by which the motive of their not having been confirmed is explained. It appears that certain things were ordained which were without doubt rendered necessary by the circumstances of those times, but which were not in the province of the fathers, whose zeal, in the correction of abuses, had led them, nevertheless, to stamp these acts with the seal of their authority. In reality, both the order and execution, in cases of such a nature, then belonged, as they now do, to a power distinct from the spiritual. Laying aside this consideration, the above assembly of prelates is well deserving of our respect, as well on account of the earnestness which was displayed

displayed in providing against the necessities of the times, as of the collection of the decrees that were promulgated. That they served as a fundamental help to the council which was afterwards celebrated by Santo Toribio, appears by a comparison between the decrees of each of the councils.

On the demise of Loaysa, he was succeeded by Don Toribio Alfonso De Mogrovejo, who had no sooner reached Lima than he assembled a council, which entered on its deliberations in the month of August 1582, at which time Don Martin Enriquez was viceroy of Peru. The bishops of Cusco, of Santiago de Chile, of la Imperial (after the destruction of that city, he was translated to la Concepcion), of Tucuman, and of la Plata, were present at this council, which was conducted with much harmony and tranquillity, and with a profound knowledge of the subjects that were there treated and ordained. Its proceedings were terminated at the close of the following year, with the same concord and union of sentiment as at the commencement. This council may be considered as having established the code of the ecclesiastical discipline of Peru, and, indeed, of all Spanish South America. It enjoined, that each of the individuals enrolled in the different parishes, whether Indian or Spaniard, should have in his possession a copy of its acts, on penalty of a fine of a hundred crowns, and the dread of the greater excommunication.

Besides the decrees, the above council published a catechism of the christian doctrines, in the Spanish and Indian tongues, in dialogues written in a clear and perspicuous style, and consequently well adapted to the comprehension of the people. It likewise published a smaller catechism in questions and answers ;

swers ; and a third, drawn up in a more familiar manner, for the use of children. The whole was under the skilful direction of the archbishop Santo Toribio, who availed himself of the aid of many learned men, then residing in Lima, more particularly of that of father Juan De Acosta, of the order of Jesuits, by whom the acts of the council were framed, and who is considered as the author of the catechism in dialogues. Finally, the council combined the views of the two preceding ones, with whatever have been dictated by an experience of thirty years, in such a way as to claim the public applause, the royal approbation, and the confirmation of the holy apostolic see.

Many were, notwithstanding, to be found who were greatly exasperated at the censure fulminated, in the third act, against every ecclesiastic engaged in commercial pursuits. It was, indeed, a spectacle equally novel and pleasant, to see a considerable number of priests repair to the council of the Indies, and to Rome even, to pray that the excommunication pronounced by the council of Lima should be taken off, at a time when the decree of the council of Trent, which renewed in the most rigorous manner the prohibitions and penalties that have been constantly pronounced by the canons of the church, at all times and in all countries, were in their greatest vigour, and in full observance. The result was, that the appellants failed in the object of their solicitations, as well before the council, as at Rome, where the decree was confirmed in all its particulars. The same thing occurred relatively to the protests against another article, which excommunicated the visitors who should conceal or mutilate the proceedings, in the visitation to which the priests were subjected, to the
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end that they should not, either wholly or in part, reach the hands of the ordinary. As both these pretensions were set up at the same time, so as to lead to a suspicion that it was at once the wish of the ecclesiastics to persevere in carrying on a traffic, and that of the visitors to continue to receive bribes for concealing the proceedings, their aim was readily defeated, and the excommunications of the council of Lima maintained without any abatement. It does not behove us to examine whether this salutary discipline is strictly observed at the present time.

The second council celebrated by Santo Toribio, and the fourth in order of the councils of Lima, assembled in 1591, and confirmed all the decrees of the preceding one, at the same time that a new decree was enacted, enjoining all the ecclesiastics entrusted with the cure of souls, to have in their possession the acts of the council of 1583, the catechism in dialogues, and the two smaller catechisms. The visitors were ordered to attend zealously to the strict enforcement of this provision. It appears by the deliberations of this council, that disputes subsisted at that time between the priesthood and the state, more particularly on the subject of the immunities and competence of the jurisdictions;—a question which has at all times occupied a great portion of the time of the tribunals. A publication was also made of the ceremonial, or *Regla consuetas*, for the good order and decorum to be observed in the worship of the cathedral church of Lima. The archbishop Santo Toribio, and the bishop of Cusco, alone were present at this council, the other bishops of the province having sent their procurators.

Santo Toribio, who continued to promote the discipline of
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the church by every practicable expedient, after having holden several synods of the dioceses, finally convened a third provincial council, which assembled in 1601. The bishops of Quito and Panama gave their attendance ; but the other provincial bishops sent procurators. It was brought to a speedy conclusion, on this account, that, as it had been made apparent, by an experience of eighteen years, that little attention had been paid to the decrees of 1583, instead of making any new provisions, it would be most advisable to try the effect of a gentle exhortation to a compliance with their tenor and purport, and, if that should fail, to threaten the refractory with the penalties of the church. It was once more recommended to all ecclesiastics, to have in their possession the acts of the council of 1583, by which their conduct should be regulated. That these acts had been so much neglected, was the necessary effect of the disputes between the royal and ecclesiastical tribunals. They had at that time been productive of much warmth and animosity ; and as malignant spirits were not wanting to take advantage of these turbulencies, by espousing alternately the cause of either party, according as it suited their convenience, the archbishop was thus defeated in the accomplishment of his views, as he himself complained in his letters to Philip II.

The above are the five provincial councils holden in the capital of Peru ; and are so many testimonies of the zeal which was displayed in those times, for the purity of the faith, the sacred doctrines, and ecclesiastical discipline. Respecting the earlier two, it has already been observed, that their decrees have not been transmitted to us. Of the three latter,

the acts of which have been published, that of 1583 may be considered as the principal one, insomuch as it comprises whatever belongs to the good government of the metropolitan church and its suffragans. It is substantially the code of the ecclesiastical laws of Peru.

Santo Toribio died in 1606, at which time the provincial councils had been discontinued both in Europe and America, for reasons that are well known to the learned. This circumstance did not, however, abate the zeal of the prelates. Lobo-Guerrero, the immediate successor of Santo Toribio, published the synodical discourses which have since been augmented and improved by the other archbishops. The pastoral letters they have left behind them are replete with piety and learning.

A wish having been, however, posteriorly expressed, that the councils should be again convened, his Catholic Majesty, Charles III. dispatched a royal schedule, named *Tomo Regio*, directed to the archbishops and bishops of South America, to the end that the former should convoke, and the latter be present at, a council which was to be holden in each respective province. In consequence of this royal mandate, that of Lima was holden in 1772. The bishops of Santiago De Chile, of la Concepcion, of Guamanga, and of Cusco, were present; but those of Truxillo, Arequipa, and Panama, sent procurators. The proceedings of this august assembly were conducted with a concord which is known to all, since it happened in our times. The acts have not, however, been published; a circumstance which prevents us from entering into a detail of the particulars. We shall merely add, that immediately after the convocation, the archbishop Don Antonio De Parada,

rada, ordered the catechism in dialogues, of which mention has been precedently made, to be again printed for the purposes of general instruction.

HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF
THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY OF ST. MARK OF LIMA.

THE protection and cultivation of the sciences establish the splendour and prosperity of a state. The eloquent but dangerous Rousseau, uniting to the subtilty of Socrates the lofty and independent spirit of Diogenes, has in vain attempted to make us envy the wretched lot of those degenerate nations, which, under the oppression of the hard chains of ignorance, sadly vegetate in obscurity. The imperious light of truth, superior to the illusions of sophistry, and the deceptive charms of declamation, has, with the aid of reason, authority, and experience, dissipated the black clouds which the spirit of singularity accumulated over the sacred image of wisdom.

If it presides over the councils of princes, the subjects gather the ripened fruits of prudence. Under the enlightened government of Solomon, the happy Israelites increased and multiplied : they feasted and made themselves merry, reposing safely beneath their vines and their fig-trees, the peaceful enjoyment of which was secured to them. In Jerusalem, gold and silver were in equal abundance with the stones that were gathered in the way ; and the cedars grew in the vallies in the same proportion as the sycamore trees.

In the days of the learned Simon Maccabeus, the felicity

which had been destroyed in Judea, by the princes his predecessors, was restored. He freed the Jews from the galling yoke of the Gentiles ; ameliorated their condition ; selected Joppa for a haven ; and made an entrance to the islands of the sea. The earth, cultivated with care, afforded copious harvests. The elders, seated in the streets, had but one theme, that of the abundance amid which they lived. The young men were clad in rich and gaudy attire. The temple was embellished with sumptuous vessels which served for the sacrifice. The kings who were hostile to him, held Simon in respect. And, lastly, he distributed justice with impartiality ; fulfilled his promises ; and was solely occupied by the grandeur and freedom of his subjects.

To soften the asperities of a people, to purify their customs, and to extirpate their inveterate abuses, is the fruit of wisdom, and not of a rigorous legislation. In this part, the weakness of the law is the necessary effect of its vigour. The furious surge of the enraged ocean does not leave any mark on the rock against which it breaks ; and the impetuous torrent moistens the earth less than does the gently falling shower. Thus, the useful mechanism by which heavy bodies are raised, does not require the greatest degree of force, but the favourable combination of distances and directions.

Every beneficial result is to be expected from the influence of letters. Being present to our mind, they are at once the accuser, the witness, and the judge of our actions. If they do not always free the heart from the disorders by which it is enthralled, they succour it in the respective intervals of silence and repose, when the tumult of the passions allows a glimpse of the precipice to which they lead. This return to truth can
never

never be expected from ignorance ; since, from an unacquaintance with evil, it may, with the purest and most sincere intentions, persist in its practice without inquietude or remorse.

By an attentive survey of the history of every age, we shall perceive that nations have been freed, by the victorious persuasives of wisdom, from the barbarous and sanguinary customs by which their annals were disgraced. By breathing sympathy, gentleness, and friendship, it obliges the ferocious man to yield to the accents of its enchanting voice. It speaks to him a soft and flattering language ; points out to him the truth clad in the flowery ornaments of the graces ; embellishes in the view of the intractable savage the scene of the new world to which it conducts him ; gilds the chains it has provided to unite him with his fellow creatures ; and forms between them a mutual and beneficial correspondence of obligations and services.

This advantageous progress would, however, be of little duration and consistency, if, the seeds of fecundity being once scattered, care were not taken to perpetuate their culture. It is therefore the aim of literary bodies to preserve them by emulation, by reward, and by competition. The light of truth is preceded by faint glimmerings, by perilous systems, and by a repetition of experimental researches. It is prepared and announced by error itself. Observations, contestations, and disputes, operate but slowly in dispersing the thick cloud by which it is covered and surrounded, until at length the humbled spirit is forced to yield to the amiable yoke of virtue. The vicious Polemon, perfumed with odours, entered the school of Xenocrates, to insult that rigid philosopher in the
delivery

delivery of his lessons ; but being moved by his discourses, he threw off the effeminate ornaments by which his head was covered, and instantly set about the reform of his manners.

To establish them most conformably to the spirit of religion and society, in the extensive possessions which had recently been annexed to the crown of Castille, was the ardent wish of the monarchs of Spain. With this view, the emperor Charles, and his august mother, lent a favourable ear to the representations of friar Tomas De San Martin, first provincial of the order of Saint Domingo in Peru, and afterward bishop of Chuquisaca, who, in the name of the city of Lima, and conformably to the instruction with which he had been furnished on his departure for Spain in 1550, in company with the licentiate Gasca, solicited the foundation of a general seminary of learning, with privileges, franchises, and exemptions, similar to those enjoyed by the celebrated university of Salamanca. The apartments of the principal convent belonging to his order were to be assigned to this establishment.

The royal schedule of approbation reached Lima in 1553 ; but as there was not any aid, beside that of three hundred and fifty piastres in gold which the order had set aside as the basis of the establishment, the project of a general instruction in all the sciences, could not be carried into effect by the reverend priors who were successively rectors of the school. The annual allowance of four hundred piastres, settled on the foundation in 1557, by the then viceroy, the Marquis of Canete, did not suffice to arouse it from the languid state in which it had continued, the sum being too small to correspond with the various objects for which it was destined. The epoch of the stability of the academy may be dated in 1571, when the rectorship was

was transferred from the regular clergy to secular doctors. Gaspar Meneses, doctor of medicine, and master of arts, was at that time appointed rector, under the protection of the viceroy, Don Francisco Toledo, who may be considered as the real founder of this seminary of learning.

It obtained the name of the university of St. Mark, instead of that of St. Domingo, by which it had been before distinguished, in 1574, at which time many titular saints having been proposed, the rectors, masters, and prelates, proceeded to draw the lots. The decision was in favour of St. Mark, who was declared the patron of the establishment. A convenient site for the erection of a new building, in a central part of the city, having been made choice of in 1576, it was begun, and has progressively risen to the size and splendour which are admired at the present time.

The illustrious protector of the academy, Don Francisco Toledo, being desirous that the professorships and courses of public instruction should be permanently established, assigned to them a fund of twenty thousand three hundred and twelve piastres, arising from the tributes paid by the Indians. This fund having been secured, the lectures which were to be given daily by the professors were regulated as follows: two on grammar; one on the general Indian tongue, necessary at that time for the propagation of the gospel; three on philosophy; three on theology; three on laws; two on canons; and two on medicine.

The above rent being subject to the decrease of the numbers of the Indians on whom the contributions were levied, the receipts gradually fell off, until at length it became necessary to seek a more solid and secure fund for the discharge of the salaries

salaries of the professors and officers. For this purpose, fourteen thousand nine hundred and six piastres, arising from the produce of the nine-tenths set aside for the royal treasury by all the dioceses of the kingdom, were assigned in 1613, by the viceroy, the marquis of Montes Claros. To this new fund considerable additions were subsequently made, by the generosity of several individuals, and the zeal of the ministers of the church.

In 1691, a professorship of medicine, after the practice of Galen, was founded; and as the useful anatomical lessons, without which the obscure labyrinth of the human body could not be developed, were still needed, a professor was appointed in 1711, for the delivery of these lectures, and for the practical demonstrations which were to take place weekly, in the royal hospital of St. Andrew, on one of the dead bodies. In 1790, an amphitheatre was erected for the use of the anatomical students.

It being one of the provisions of the laws of the kingdom, that the Castillian tongue should be generally spoken, and the Indian idiom extinguished, the professorship which had been established, for the teaching of the latter, at the time of the foundation of the academy, was suppressed in 1784, and one of moral philosophy substituted in its stead.

The fees disbursed on the admission to the different degrees, were originally very high. Each doctor of the faculty, besides paying a considerable sum to the rector, head master, register, and other officers, was obliged to fee all those who composed the chapter, or assembly, at the time of his admission. If he took a secular degree, he gave to each of them a velvet bonnet; and if the degree was ecclesiastical, a bonnet
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of cloth. To this gift he added another, of six fat hens, four pounds of cold viands, and a pair of gloves. These disbursements, united with the expences attendant on the public exhibition of a bull fight, in the great square, on the day of admission, and the sumptuous entertainment given to all who were present, were found, on an average estimate made in 1743, to amount to the extravagant sum of ten thousand piastres for each degree. To remedy this inconvenience, it was then settled that the graduate should pay into the chest of the institution the sum of two thousand piastres, to be divided equally among the doctors; and should provide a slight refreshment for those who were present at his examination. He was, besides, to bestow small fees on the rector, head master, register, and other persons holding literary employments in the college. The gross amount of the charges has been since reduced to one thousand and sixty-six piastres.

To obtain the degree of doctor, that of bachelor is, in the first instance, indispensably requisite. For this purpose, the student must be provided with a certificate of his having attended five courses in the faculty to which he aspires, together with another certificate of his having taken the private lessons, without which his studies would have been incomplete. The expences of this degree are moderate, amounting to twenty-five piastres only. Conformably to the spirit and tenor of the laws of the kingdom, whenever ten degrees of bachelor have been conferred, a similar degree is to be bestowed on a poor scholar, as a stimulus to application, and a recompense for the successful prosecution of his studies; but this favour has been liberally dispensed by the academy, which, with a view to the prosperity and cultivation of the sciences, has not li-

mitted itself to the number of indigent students for whom the above legislative provision was made.

The ceremony of the reception of a doctor in this university is not uninteresting. On the day appointed, at sun-set, the interior of the hall having been lighted, and the doors closely barred, the examination commences before the masters and doctors, who alone are allowed to be present. Between the first and second lessons, an oath is administered by the rector to each of the assistants; and when the second lesson is concluded, four of the doctors, the junior taking the lead, maintain a controversy with the candidate. This does not, however, prevent any one present from making such observations as he may deem essential to his further satisfaction and security. The rector, the president, the four replicants, and the six most ancient doctors of the faculty, now proceed to vote privately; and by their suffrages, the individual who has been examined is either admitted or rejected. The whole concludes by a refreshment of sweetmeats and jellies, substituted to the supper ordered by the ancient institutions of the academy.

On the following morning, the degree is conferred with every solemnity. Provided the ceremony be not, by especial favour, performed in the interior of the university, the chapel of the Blessed Virgin, belonging to the great church, is splendidly ornamented; and thither the graduate, accompanied by the students, collegiates, and doctors, proceeds to make his profession of faith. The rector having administered to him an oath to defend the mystery of the immaculate conception, and to detest the execrable doctrines of tyrannicide and regicide, the degree is delivered to him by the head master, at the same time that the register invests him with the badges
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of his newly acquired dignity. This being done, a Latin oration is pronounced in his praise, and a theme proposed to him for the exercise of his talents.

The number of doctors is not limited. At this time (in 1791) there are one hundred and thirty-four in the faculty of theology; in that of laws, one hundred and sixty-four; in that of medicine, twelve; and six masters of arts. If, in former times, the number was still greater, the establishment may now boast, that it reckons among its members many individuals of pre-eminent merit and distinguished qualities, employed in the discharge of the most important and honourable functions of church and state. Of these, it will be sufficient to cite the names of his excellency Don Antonio Porlier, counsellor of state, and first secretary of the general dispatch of justice and indulgences of Castille and the Indies; his excellency count Castillejo; the count Del Puerto, eldest son of the latter, and nephew to the duke of San Carlos; Don Balthazar Companon, archbishop of Santa Fé, &c. &c.

The direction and government of the academy belong entirely to the rector, who is annually elected, by secret votes, on the 30th of June. His age must exceed thirty years; and he must have been received into the community of lay brothers, and have taken the second ecclesiastical degree. The chapter is at liberty to re-elect him on the following year, but not for a longer time, it being the privilege of the viceroy, as vice patron, to continue him for a third year, if that should be deemed essential to the prosperity of the establishment.

The other ministers and officers, elected in the same manner, are the two principal counsellors, the one who filled that office the preceding year having the title of vice-rector, to sup-

ply the place of the rector in cases of sickness or absence ; but when he has completed his year, the chapter is free, on the re-election, to appoint two other counsellors at its pleasure, he whose degree has a priority of date becoming the vice-rector. There are besides, two minor counsellors, belonging to the community of bachelors, one of whom was formerly a prebendary of the principal college of St. Philip, the other of that of St. Martin. These two posts are now occupied by the students belonging to the royal seminary of St. Charles. The procurator-general is likewise one of the principal ministers of the academy. His office corresponds to that of fiscal, his opinion being usually taken before any important resolution is adopted. This appointment is commonly bestowed for life on one of the professors of canons or laws ; and the offices of chaplain, treasurer, principal beadle, minor beadle, and alguazil of the academy, are also holden in perpetuity.

The solid and established rents of the university amount to one thousand two hundred and thirty piastres only, the produce of a few small sums laid out in annuities, destined to defray the expences of the festivals of the patrons, St. Mark, and Santa Rosa, and the other charges incurred in the ornaments and repairs of the building. They would not suffice for these purposes, if several of the chairs formerly occupied by professors were not vacant, and if those by whom the others are filled did not give up the one-half of their salaries, to augment the capital of the establishment.

Notwithstanding this paucity of means, the academy has on every occasion displayed its generosity. The sumptuous gifts it has presented to the crown, in moments of difficulty, are
recorded

recorded in the registers of its chapters. They exceed at this time a hundred thousand piastres; and it would be difficult to find in the city of Lima a public work to which it has not contributed with cheerfulness and promptitude. It is impossible to read without satisfaction the sacrifice of life, goods, and persons, made by the doctors, masters, and students, in 1709, when the English, having invaded the port of Guayaquil, excited a general panic throughout the kingdom. They enrolled themselves, without any exception of classes or conditions, for the king's service, and formed themselves into companies. Dr. Martin de los Reyes took the command of the company of the ecclesiastics who composed the chapter; that of the seculars was commanded by Dr. Bartolome Romero; and that of the students by Dr. Tomas Salazar. The rector, Don Isidora Olmedo, to evince his attachment and fidelity to his sovereign, took the command in chief.

It has been observed by an illustrious Spaniard*, that "one of the best ascertained reasons of the decay of universities, is the antiquity of their foundation; because the plan of studies established at the commencement, not having afterward undergone any reform, it follows that they must still retain the dross and impurities of the remote ages, and cannot be freed from them without the intellectual lights afforded by time, and by the discoveries of the eminent subjects of every part of the literary world."

On consulting the archives of the celebrated academies of Europe, we shall soon be made sensible of the solidity of these

* Count Campomanes, governor of the supreme council of Castille, in his reply on the subject of the plan of studies of the university of Salamanca.

observations. Abstract ideas, despicable chimeras, and vain subtilties, explained in a coarse and barbarous style, formed the proud and useless science which resounded in their halls. From them, as from a dark chaos, the errors which went abroad were disseminated. If the information which relates to the general ignorance of nations, had not been transmitted to us by the most authentic testimonies, it would be difficult for us to persuade ourselves, that it attained the scandalous degradation of ordering the fathers who composed the council of Chalons, to correct the rituals with all possible care and exactitude, from an apprehension least, in petitioning God for a favour, the ecclesiastics should demand precisely the contrary. At a period not so remote, a respectable Spaniard, Clemente Sanchez, wrote as follows : “ As a punishment for our sins and transgressions, there are at this time many priests entrusted with the cure of souls, who are utterly ignorant how to teach the things that belong to our salvation.”

This grievous scourge infested all Europe. When the doctrines of Luther first found their way into the North, the greater part of the clergy of Scotland believed him to be the author of the New Testament*. The general synod of Russia having been convened in 1723, for the presentation of a bishop, said to the Czar Peter : “ *We can find none other than ignorant persons to propose.*” The university of Paris worded in the following manner a receipt it gave to the congregation of St. Germain : *tenemus nos plenarie pro pagatis* ; and the parliament published one of its edicts in the following terms : *pagatores pagabant pagam die assignato pro pagatione.*

The lustre of the academy of St. Mark has never been tar-

* History of the House of Tudor.

nished by these blemishes. From the earliest date of its establishment, the eminent men by whom it has been ornamented have been the object of the most authentic praises. In a royal schedule, dated in 1588, Philip II. thus expresses himself: “ Our Lord has been well served, inasmuch as the effects have corresponded with the intention, to the manifest advancement of the general prosperity of the kingdom, by the means of the great exercise of letters made in the aforesaid university, which has thus been enabled to produce subjects of high consideration in each of the faculties.” The marquis of Montes Claros, in his introduction to the ancient constitutions, expressed himself in a similar manner in 1614; and the learned Don Francisco Toledo asserted, that the tranquillity and harmony which the kingdom enjoyed, were the fruit of the progress and cultivation of letters. “ In dissipating,” he added, “ those dark clouds which a blind religion had accumulated around the throne, they had multiplied the soft chains, the bands of flowers, which, even in submission, were the sure guides to freedom and repose.”

It must be confessed, that our academy has not been able to free itself entirely, in the mode of instruction, from that conjunction of metaphysical opinions, which, on pretext of the investigation of truth, and the exercise of the understanding, occasion a loss of much time, to the prejudice of essential principles and solid acquirements. But when, in the eighteenth century, an enlightened Spaniard, in speaking of his nation, has observed: *Paucissimi sunt qui colunt literas, cæteri barbariem*: when, in 1771, the heads of the university of Salamanca, on being solicited by the supreme council of Castille, to reform their studies, replied, “ that they could not depart
from

from the system of Aristotle : that those of Newton, Gassendi, and Des Cartes, did not symbolize so much with revealed truths ; and that neither had their predecessors sought to be legislators, by the introduction of a more exquisite taste in the sciences, nor could the university presume to become the author of new methods :” when that of Alcala asserted, at the above time, “ that the study of Roman jurisprudence ought to be the first object of those who devote themselves to the laws :” at that very epoch, we say, the academy of St. Mark adopted the new plan of studies which had been drawn up for their better regulation. Free from the decay by which many other seminaries of learning have been obscured, it has preserved a brilliant succession of eminent subjects in all the faculties. The list of them would be immense ; and the works with which they have enlightened the public, would form a collection of no small consideration.

If many of the excellent productions of American genius have remained buried in oblivion, without having, through the medium of printing, obtained the recompense of fame, it was, in past times, the effect of the impossibility of defraying the expences, combined with the risks attendant on their conveyance to Europe* ; and at all times that of the distance
which

* Father Melendez, in the introduction to his *Tesoro verdadero de Indias* (real treasure of the Indies), speaking of the MS. work, entitled, “ Description and Population of the Kingdoms of Peru,” by Reginaldo de Lizarraga, bishop of Chile, which, having been sent to Madrid to be printed, was denied that advantage, through the neglect of the person in whose possession it was, remarks as follows : “ Such are the risks incurred by the unfortunate writers of South America, who send their books to be printed in Spain, that the correspondents retain the money, theirs being
the

which unfortunately intervenes. On this head, an eloquent Peruvian writer, Father Torrejon, has observed: "They spring up as near to the sun which illumines, as they are remote from the one which commands; and the distance either denies them its influence, or it is weakened by the obliquity of the rays. It is for this reason that many plants, which, if favoured by a greater proximity, would be as loftily elevated, as majestically crowned, are now condemned to wither and decay."

We forbear to record the very flattering encomiums which foreign writers have bestowed on the academy of St. Mark, and on the genius of the natives of Peru. Laying aside, therefore, every spirit of party, and of national pride, we shall conclude with the words of Fadrique Turio Ceriol, in his work on the education of a prince: "Each country has its virtues and its vices. It has its good and bad men; its learned and unlearned; its acute and torpid; its skilful and unskilful; its loyal and disloyal."

BENEVOLENT ESTABLISHMENTS.

ON tracing the moral system of Peru, down to the epoch of the conquest, it will be found that those who made the earliest settlements, amid the horrors of war, the attractions of riches, and the bad example of a few dissolute adventurers by

the country where they know it is to be had, applying it to their own purposes, even when the proprietors are present, and still more so when at the great distance of the Indies. The manuscripts are thrown aside as waste paper, and the wretched authors consigned to oblivion."

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whom they were accompanied, were earnest to display a spirit of christian charity and compassion. However unjustly they may have been treated by foreign pens, inimical to the Spanish name, it must be acknowledged that many of them were as renowned for their valour and constancy, as for the sentiments of that fraternal and generous tenderness, which the philosophers of our times extol so much, and practise so little. We may trace in every direction the trophies of the piety of our ancestors. Hospitals, colleges, churches, asylums for orphans, endowments for young indigent females, &c. are the first monuments which present themselves to the view of the observer, when he investigates philosophically the principles of the Peruvian population. It is to be lamented that the historians who have written so copiously on Peru, have not bestowed on this subject all the attention it merits.

A receptacle for orphans, established in a capital such as Lima, not only supposes in its inhabitants a great fund of humanity, but likewise affords a reasonable ground of belief that the true application of alms was known to them at an early date. In reality, there is not any object which has a greater tendency to interest the affections of a sensible heart, than the poor orphan, the offspring of frailty and love, who has no other parents beside the compassion and benevolence of the public.

The college for female orphans, properly named the college of Santa Cruz for female foundlings, in the house of Our Lady of Atocha, was founded by Mateo Pastor De Velasco, by birth a Spaniard, an apothecary by profession, and agent of the Inquisition. His pious intention received a new stimulus from the virtue of his wife, Donna Francisca Velez Michael.

Being

Being both of them animated by the same spirit of humanity, they were desirous to make a useful application of the means which Providence had bestowed on them, without subjecting their determination to the alterations of an indolent or covetous executor. As a charitable gift loses much of its value, when it is swayed by the impulse of terror, or by the weakness of the contrary passion in the hour of death, they made their testament when in the enjoyment of perfect health, in the month of June 1654.

The fifth clause of this instrument enacted the foundation of the asylum or college in question, in which young girls, of the description of those who, having been left destitute, from their early infancy, through the cruelty or indigence of their parents, are wont to be the victims of their unprotected state, were to be clothed, fed, and educated. To form from its origin an establishment of such a nature, it was ordered in the above, and in the subsequent clauses, that the licentiate Garcia Martinez Cabeza, inquisitor of these realms, and, in the case of his demise or absence, the tribunal of the Holy Office, should frame such laws and constitutions as might appear to be best adapted to its good government, advancement, and preservation. Finally, the aforesaid tribunal was nominated perpetual patron, with indeterminate powers to dispose at its pleasure both of the college and its government.

On the death, in August 1655, of Mateo Pastor, who survived his virtuous consort but a short time, and by virtue of the above dispositions, the necessary measures were taken to carry into effect the testament of the deceased. The foundation of the college received the approbation of the supreme au-

thority in June 1659, at which time the count of Alba was viceroy ; and in the same year the constitutions for its directive and economical order, were drawn up by the inquisitor, Don Cristobal De Castilla, who had been commissioned by the tribunal to that effect.

The college was governed according to the spirit of these constitutions until the year 1756, at which time it was found indispensably necessary to new model them in some parts, and to make additions and corrections to them in others, according as was required by the lapse of time, and the alteration of circumstances*. This was effected by the inquisitors Don Mateo De Amusquibar, and Don Diego Delgado. The constitutions having been modified in this manner, were reprinted at the above time, and have since sufficed for the government of the college, without the necessity of any further innovations. What they strictly require, for the reception of a female infant, is, that she shall be a foundling and a *Spaniard*†. On these heads the most precise information is taken.

The number of the college girls educated, fed, and clothed, has varied with the increase or diminution of the funds of the establishment. It consists at present of twenty-four of these

* Legislation, as well as all other sublunary things, grows old with the progress of time. In that state its force is languid, and it resists its infractions but feebly. If we were to endeavour to govern men at this time according to the ordinances of the Romans, or the Goths, there would be a perpetual contradiction between the antiquity of the law and the force of custom ; at the same time that the influence of opinion would be invariably in opposition to the accomplishment of what should be commanded.—*Political Reflections, MS.*

† All those born in South America of Spanish parents, are reputed Spaniards.

females,

females, whose bringing up, in whatever concerns their moral and physical duties, is confided to a rectoress and a mistress. The administrator, and the principal chaplain of the college, are, by virtue of their offices, to see that the constitutions are rigorously complied with ; and if they notice any thing that requires amendment, they are to lay the same before the tribunal, which is to apply the remedy. A general visitation is annually made on St. Matthew's day, chosen in commemoration of the name of the pious founder of this useful work of charity, unless it should be procrastinated on account of any business of urgent necessity.

The funds of the college have varied ; but, through the integrity, zeal, and skilful management of the tribunal, the variations have been constantly in favour of the establishment. At the commencement they consisted of the principal sum of three hundred and forty-one thousand six hundred and twenty-six piastres, laid out in quit-rents and other capitals ; but amount at present to three hundred and ninety-four thousand five hundred and two piastres, which, combined with the rents of a few houses belonging to the foundation, produce annually fourteen thousand nine hundred and thirty-two piastres. In the maintenance and clothing of the girls, and of the rectoress and mistress, together with the salaries of the two latter, those of the two chaplains, of the surgeon, administrator, female domestics, advocate, procurator, &c. eight thousand seven hundred piastres are annually expended. The remainder is applied to the repairs of the building and dependencies, and to the portions of the college girls, who are destined either for a married state, or for the convent. The amount of these portions is settled by the tribunal, according to their vocations,

tions, to qualify them for which they receive a suitable education.

From the above details, many consequences, which, to avoid prolixity, we leave to the penetration of the enlightened reader, may be deduced. We shall simply add, that a zealous, well supported, and respectable administration, appears to us to be the true principle of the aggrandizement and utility of a pious work.

Another establishment of the same nature, is that of the hospital for male foundlings of Our Lady of Atocha, the account of which is introduced by the following curious historical facts.

Humanity towards foundlings and helpless infants was exercised in Peru, even before the epoch of its falling under the yoke of Spain*. At the time of that memorable revolution, our ancestors were seen wielding with the right hand the conquering sword, and extending the left to the poor sick man, and unprotected female. This spirit of charity having been transmitted to our times, it cannot be said that, among the Peruvians, beneficence has been fashionable for a season, as has usually happened in France with relation to opinions as well as to dress†. When not the smallest idea was entertained

* The Indians afforded an example of humanity which must surprize those who have the presumption to style them *barbarians*. By order of the Ynca, the lands belonging to the orphans and widows, were cultivated at the expence of the community, immediately after those appertaining to the royal inheritance. A magistrate, who was named *Llaclacamay*, and whose office was similar to that of a tribune of the poor, was particularly charged with this operation.

† The mode of thinking is a fashion among the French, like the apparel. When the public are impressed with an opinion, it becomes their idol, and obliges every other consideration to give way.—*Treatise on Political Bodies*.

in Paris, that children illegitimately born, and orphans, were deserving of the protection of the public*, they had found in Lima an asylum in which they were reared and supported. These data could not certainly have been in the possession of the historians who have since represented us as the negligent offspring of cruel parents.

In the year 1597, there dwelt in Lima a pious and philosophical man, according to the true acceptation of christianity, named Luis Pecador†. The sole object of his desires was the establishment of a receptacle for the infants, who, having been abandoned from the earliest moments of their existence, were found lying before the doors of the dwellings, and were there exposed to the attacks of dogs, by whom they had, in many instances, been devoured. The innocence of these tender victims claiming his most earnest solicitude, he obtained the permission of the Sovereign Pontiff, to found, for the above benevolent purpose, an order of hospitallers, of which he himself became the prior. With the aid of liberal public subscriptions, a suitable edifice was erected, and likewise a chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Atocha, who was chosen patroness of the institution. For the reception of the infants, a turning box, having a double communication with the street and the building, was provided.

* Until the year 1638 there was not in Paris a receptacle for orphans. At that time a rich and virtuous widow laid the foundation of an establishment of this nature, the maintenance of which required all her constancy and heroism. It was not until 1675 that it attracted the notice and consideration of the sovereign, who assigned to it a rent of twenty thousand livres.

† His real name was Oxeda, which he changed for that of *Pecador* (sinner), conformably to the spirit of humility by which devout persons were then influenced.

Those

Those who were the most conspicuous in following this virtuous example, were the royal notaries, and the receivers of the royal audience. These two bodies of civilians, whose profession has been so unjustly attacked by Quevedo, Torres, and other writers, manifested by their conduct, that probity, philosophy, and heroism even, are indifferent characteristics, accessible to all the conditions of society. They obtained the permission of the viceroy, Don Luis De Velasco, to establish a fraternity for the succour of orphans and children abandoned by their parents. The above-mentioned Pecador was declared the principal founder and abbot of this new institution, which took the denomination of the brotherhood of lost and deserted infants and orphans, of Our Lady of Atocha. In 1603 it was patronized by his Catholic Majesty.

A provision was shortly after made in favour of the orphans and abandoned children belonging to the different casts, who were continually exposed in the turning box of the hospital, but whose admission had not before been deemed necessary. It was accordingly determined that the children of colour should be educated separately from the whites ; that they should be obliged to perform domestic services until the age of eighteen years ; and that they should be given to the respectable inhabitants who should apply for them, on the latter contributing a small sum to the funds of the hospital, in aid of the expenditures, and as a recompense for what had been laid out in their board, clothing, and education.

The public was not satisfied with paying a tribute of steril admiration to the progress made by this charitable institution, in the admission and rearing of the poor orphans, and to the excellent conduct of the brotherhood by whom they were protected.

ted. The alms were augmented yearly, and many pious legacies bequeathed, until at length, in 1637, a particular fund was assigned by the sovereign to the purposes of the establishment. In 1648, the infants who had been admitted were so numerous as to find employment for seventy nurses, together with two masters for the young girls who were of an age to receive instructions, and a master for the youths. It should be noticed, that at the above time the population of Lima scarcely amounted to the one half of what it does at present; but the children of spurious birth were proportionally more numerous.

In 1657, the brotherhood became extremely opulent, the privilege of becoming a member being no longer confined to the class of notaries and receivers, but extended to every virtuous member of society, whatever his profession might be, on payment of the customary sum of thirty piastres. The buildings and chapel having suffered greatly from the injuries of time, and from the shocks of the earthquakes which have been in every age the scourge of Peru, it was resolved to rebuild them. The established rents not sufficing, however, for this undertaking, the inhabitants voluntarily came forward, and subscribed in a few days ten thousand piastres. A pension of three thousand piastres was settled, in 1669, on the hospital, by the count of Lemos, the viceroy; and this sum was afterwards augmented to four thousand piastres.

Such was the prosperous state of the establishment in question, when the great earthquake of 1687 buried the orphan-house in the deplorable ruins of the whole of the capital. The funds were annihilated; the brotherhood dispersed; and the wretched children, in want of an asylum, and of food, wan-

dered about the plains, to ask charity at the doors of the huts and buildings which served as the temporary habitations of those who had survived the ruins of their beloved country. This calamitous event would have been attended by the most fatal consequences to the establishment of orphan children, but for the prudent measures adopted by the viceroy, one of whose earliest precautions was to place in security the little that still belonged to the hospital, whether resulting from the remnants of the extinguished brotherhood, or from the arrears belonging to the funds of the house. Several administrators, selected from among the distinguished class of the citizens, were at the same time appointed to succeed those who had belonged to the religious community. In 1718, the hospital found a new benefactor in the person of Don Antonio De Zo-loaga, the archbishop of Lima, who, observing the extreme poverty of the institution, among other donations, ordered the sum of eight hundred and forty piastres to be annually taken from his revenues, for the support of ten nurses.

The establishment was once more in a flourishing condition, when another earthquake, which occurred on the 28th of October 1746, renewed the disastrous scenes that had accompanied the preceding one of 1687. The same devastations were productive of a similar desertion of the dwellings ; but this catastrophe was not attended by equally fatal consequences to the orphans. Their administrator, Don Joseph De Herrera, made every possible effort to afford them succour, and witnessed the re-establishment of the hospital, before he was snatched off by death, to reap the fruits of his compassion and christian charity.

The viceroy, count Superunda, obtained, in 1755, a royal schedule

schedule which assigned the sum of thirty-two thousand piastres to the orphan fund. The walls of the church were erected on the ancient site ; and the buildings annexed to it, together with the interior of the hospital, edified and restored.

The establishment, at the present time, may be said to be in a very flourishing state. The children are commodiously lodged ; and nothing has been neglected that can contribute to the preservation of their health. The strictest attention is at the same time bestowed on the inculcation of their religious and moral duties. In a word, it may be said that the hospital has received a new existence, both with respect to its construction, and the form of its discipline. In addition to its numerous rents, other fixed incomes, and the adventitious alms, it enjoys the clear produce of the press established within its precincts, and entitled that of the foundlings, or orphans. In this press, which is incomparably the best in the capital, the Peruvian Mercury is printed. The very heavy charges incurred by its publication contribute in part to the support of these innocent creatures, the sight of whom, in the intercourse which we have necessarily to maintain with them, inspires us with the deepest compassion. We feel a lively pleasure when we reflect that our Mercury renders this small service to humanity, and to the country. This is one of the motives by which we have been influenced in fulfilling the engagement into which we have entered, to carry on our periodical work, the indispensable charges attendant on which are frequently not compensated by the public contributions, in payment and in gratitude, towards our unfortunate lucubrations.

The hospital has in its pay from eighty-five to ninety wet-

nurses, each of whom receives a salary of six piastres per month. Within the establishment itself there are upwards of twenty wet-nurses, and as many dry-nurses, including several grown up female orphans, who respectively attend to the necessities of the unfortunate infants. There are thirty-three Spanish youths belonging to the foundation, all of whom are taught to read, write, &c. to be afterwards brought up to useful professions, according to the disposition of each of them. There are likewise five foundlings of colour destined for the service of the house.

The following is a concise account of the monastery and hospital of charity established at Lima.

During the viceroyalty of the marquis of Canete, in the year 1559, an epidemical disease broke out in that capital, and made a dreadful havoc among the inhabitants, as well as in the surrounding territory. Amid this general affliction, christian charity displayed all the ardor of which it is susceptible. Among those whose zeal was most conspicuous in affording relief to the sufferers, was friar Ambrosio De Guerra, whose exhortations, and, still more, whose example, stimulated Don Alonzo De Paredes, a distinguished Castilian, to erect a monastery under the denomination of the fellowship of compassion, the principal institute of which was to afford relief, in their own houses, to the unfortunate sick who might otherwise perish destitute of every aid. The archbishop, Don Geronimo Loaysa, approved of the establishment of this pious society, and united with it another
monastery

monastery named the brotherhood of charity, which had been founded in 1552*, and the constitutions of which were directed to the same object. The union of these two bodies was denominated the fellowship of charity and compassion.

The virtuous Paredes was soon joined by two associates, Don Gonzalo Lopez, and Don Diego De Guzman, both of them of noble descent, and, which is still more, animated by the same spirit of humanity and religion. This pious triumvirate, impelled by the ardent desire of succouring their fellow creatures, and not by the infuriate ambition of governing them, drew up their code of constitutions, which having received the royal approbation, and that of the Sovereign Pontiff, the brotherhood took possession of the cathedral church, which became their monastery.

The objects of the primitive institution were multiplied, and extended to the relief of such indigent families as were ashamed to ask charity, to the healing of the sick, to the burial of the dead, to the education of orphans until a provision should be made for them, and to the necessity of accompanying criminals to the place of execution, and providing for the interment of their bodies. These precepts were faithfully complied with, to the full extent of their meaning and purport. The

* It may be observed, in a cursory way, that although, at the above time, the spirit of conquest was still very fervent among our ancestors, they already directed their attention to pious foundations, which they planted, not only with their money, but with their personal co-operation. The nations which are the most vehement in reproaching the conquest of the Americas, on the specious pretext of the cruelties by which it was accompanied, have scarcely done so much in times of profound tranquillity, and of their greatest splendour.

lapse of time demanded a new compilation of the code, the regulations of which were adapted to the immediate circumstances. By this reform, the admission into the house of compassion, and subsequent adoption, of any cast that should not be either Spaniard, Mestizo, or Quarteron, were strictly prohibited.

Many donations were bestowed on this charitable establishment, which excited the lively interest of the public. Donna Anna Rodriguez De Solorzano, a rich and virtuous widow, endowed the monastery with two houses, one of them as an hospital for poor sick women, the other as a college for the education of young females left without protection. She became the first abbess, and presided over each of these institutions. On the site of these possessions the hospital of charity was built, and has since had many benefactors, whose donations, combined with those of the primitive founders, yield at the present time an annual income of upwards of twelve thousand piastres.

His Catholic Majesty has, from the commencement, patronized both the monastery and the hospital. Several of the viceroys have been admitted into the fellowship of the latter; and the Popes have bestowed on it many indulgences, among which may be reckoned that of the *forty hours**. The first solemnity of this description which took place in Lima was in favour of this hospital, and was the only one, throughout the kingdom, granted at that epoch to poor women.

The college of charity, which depended originally on the

* This name is bestowed on the extraordinary prayers, of forty hours continuance, which are offered up to Heaven on urgent occasions.

same institution, is under the direction of an abbess and a prior, who are at this time charged with the education of eighteen young girls, that being the determinate number belonging to the foundation. The latter are maintained and reared at the expence of the establishment ; and, in addition to them, a certain number of young ladies belonging to Lima receive their education in the college. Of this description there are at present seven.

Up to the year 1784, the number of female patients under cure in the hospital never exceeded seventy at any one given time, and might, on a mean calculation, be rated at forty. Since that date there has been an extraordinary increase in the total number of cures. The entries and discharges of the patients being calculated on an average of two years, give a result of one thousand one hundred and thirty-six cured annually. During a space of twelve months, reckoning from the commencement of July 1786, on account of the great prevalence of malignant sore throats and measles among the people, one thousand five hundred and eighty-two patients were admitted. In the month of May 1790, ninety beds were occupied, eighty-four by sick, and the others by insane women.

In this hospital the utmost decency is observed. The patients are well attended, and have every convenience they can wish. Notwithstanding the above cited rents are so small, the establishment has to sustain an annual expence of about nineteen thousand piastres. There have, indeed, been years when the expenditures have amounted to twenty-four thousand. The alms of the citizens, and the bounties
of

of the noblemen who act as administrators, fill up the yearly deficiency.

The general hospital for the poor is a recent establishment, which is indebted for its origin to Don Diego De Guevara, an opulent merchant of Lima. He had long entertained a persuasion that the most effectual mode of exterminating an importunate mendicity, consisted in the erection of a general hospital, in which invalids and infirm persons having been collected, should be provided with food and lodging, employed in some easy mechanical labours to render them industrious, and assisted with spiritual exhortations to eradicate their vices, and stimulate them to the pursuits of virtue. Accordingly, in 1757, he presented a memorial to the viceroy, in which, with the most efficacious reasonings, and the greatest weight of authority, he exposed the necessities of the poor and their vices; together with the frauds which were committed on the real objects of charity by those who, being able to live by their labour, were led by their vicious inclinations to become mendicants. He proposed the plan of an hospital in which the necessitous poor should be assembled; and described the useful and moderate labours in which they might be employed, tendering to this effect his person and his fortune. He pointed out at the same time several expedients calculated to defray the indispensable expences of the hospital.

A royal schedule, dated in November 1758, not only granted the license requisite to this establishment, but likewise charged the

the viceroy, count Superunda, and his successors, to promote the erection of the building by every possible means. The hospital was not completed until 1770, at which time the viceroys were constituted sole patrons, and the administration vested in the above-mentioned Don Joseph De Guevara. It was constructed in the district del Cercado, in the vicinity of a religious community having the spiritual care of the Indians, to the end that the poor might profit by their instructions. Many necessitous persons were collected, conducted thither, and treated by the pious administrator with a paternal love and a generous compassion. By one of those miracles which have frequently attracted the public admiration, the blind suddenly recovered their sight, the cripples walked, and the impotent found the use of their limbs. The mask of fiction and falsehood was thrown off; and the vile vagabonds, the lazy impostors, the feigned sick, were quickly healed, and converted into useful subjects who laboured in the service of the public for their support. The number of truly necessitous poor, and invalids, was so much reduced, that ninety-six only could be found to occupy the hospital. With the exception of the fifteen hundred piastres assigned to the foundation by the sovereign, Don Diego De Guevara, the administrator, did not receive any aid, but maintained the establishment until his death, by a sacrifice of his own private property, to the amount of more than thirty thousand piastres*. By a reference to the third table of the demonstrative plan of the popu-

* By his will, he bequeathed, on the demise of his two nephews, to the orphan charity, and that of the poor, the whole of his extensive property.

lation of Lima, it will be seen that the hospital, in 1790, supplied an asylum to twenty-nine poor.

The asylum for repentant females was founded in 1669, under the viceroyalty of the count of Lemos, by father Francisco Del Castillo, who became the confessor. It was not an institution subject to canonical regulations, but a voluntary retreat for poor, repentant, and abandoned females, the design of which was in opposition to solemn vows. It afforded the advantages of a monastic state to those whose situation and poverty would neither allow them to remain in society without a risk of their honour and salvation, nor to obtain the dowry requisite to take the veil. A code of suitable constitutions having been drawn up, the dress which was to be worn by these females, who were denominated the *protegées* (*amparadas*) of la Concepcion, was made to agree with the particular nature of their vocation ; and this was expressed by a silver medal hanging from the neck. Their occupations, and the mode of life they were to lead, were pointed out ; and they were subjected to the immediate government of a canoness, whom they were themselves to elect. These dispositions having been made, the public entry into the house which had been provided for them, took place in the month of March 1670, with all the solemnity and manifestations of joy customary on such pious occasions. The ceremonies lasted for three days, the viceroy, his lady, the tribunals, the nobility, clergy, &c. accompanying the processions. On this occasion, which will be

be an eternal monument of his liberality, and of his zeal in the cause of the unfortunate, the count of Lemos appeared more glorious than when he entered the capital in triumph, at the head of his victorious army*.

During his beneficent administration, the protégées, twenty of whom were in the first instance assembled, augmented considerably in their number, which was not limited. They depended chiefly on the generosity of the count, by the effect of whose bounties the institution made a rapid progress. The countess daily sent them food from the palace, and, in concert with her husband, solicited alms throughout the kingdom, in addition to those that were collected at Lima. These were their only sources of subsistence until 1670, when two thousand ducats were paid into the fund of the charity, by virtue of an order from Madrid.

The death of the viceroy, which occurred two years after, threw the burthen of the support of the establishment almost exclusively on the charitable priests to whom its spiritual direction was confided. A representation of its very destitute state having been made to the court of Madrid, another royal donation, of four thousand piastres, was made in 1679. By a very economical system of management, and a rigid observance of the statutes, so successful a progress was made, that in 1790, the viceroy, count Monclova, added to the original institution a new one, for public women who led a scandalous life. They were to live separately from the others, but to be subject to the same directress, whose duty it was to correct

* He had just returned from quelling the alarming insurrection of the military and inhabitants of Puno.

their manners and habits, and thus free society from the motives of prostitution and criminal disorders. Both the classes of females were supported by the zeal and assiduity of their chaplain, Don Nicholas De La Cruz, notwithstanding the principal part of the building in which they resided had been destroyed by the memorable earthquake of the 20th of October 1687. Partly at his own expence, and partly by the alms he collected, the repairs were completed in two years. At the time of his death, the number of repentant females and young girls for education amounted to two hundred; and the *recluses*, or abandoned women, were nearly tantamount. The alms and donations, however, gradually fell off, through the want of persons to collect them, until at length it was found impossible to administer to the calls of so large an establishment.

It was in a manner annihilated in 1708, by the cupidity of certain individuals of Lima, interested in promoting the views of a community of nuns, whose convent had been destroyed by the earthquake above-mentioned. They had the address to bring the viceroy, the marquis of Casteldosrius, over to their side; and, in consequence, the house, together with the church belonging to it, the goods, chattels, and other appurtenances, were adjudged to the foundation of the convent. The unfortunate protégées of la Concepcion were dispersed, and were not united until 1720, when Philip V. granted them an asylum in a building which was, however, but ill calculated for their reception, and so small, that the *recluses*, who formed a very interesting part of the establishment, could not be received. The directress now governed those who were under her care according to the rules of piety and honour,

nour, but without the forms and order which were before observed. The protégées employed themselves in instructing young girls, whose parents paid a certain stipend, which, added to a yearly income of less than four hundred piastres, the sole remnant of their ancient funds, and the alms they begged from door to door, administered to the urgent calls of Nature. Their condition was still more deplorable in 1746, when, on the 28th day of October, another earthquake demolished their house, on the ruins of which they dwelt in a few huts built for the occasion.

They were for several years indebted for their support to a charitable ecclesiastic, Dr. Joaquin De Irujo, who voluntarily came forward to serve them in quality of chaplain. At length, in 1766, his Catholic Majesty, Charles III. bestowed on them a perpetual annuity of two thousand piastres. He declared their institution to be of great public utility, both in a spiritual and temporal point of view ; and ordered the viceroy to revise the documents which had a reference to the primitive foundation. The latter was at the same time enjoined to regulate the subsistence of the protégées, their pupils, and the recluses ; to determine whatever might relate to their good government ; and to superintend their welfare and progress, until the establishment should be rendered as perfect as possible.

With these views, the protégées and their companions were removed to the hospital of San Pedro, a large and commodious building, which had formerly belonged to the priests of the oratory. A new college for female Indians, and an hospital for poor women, were annexed to the institution by order of the viceroy, by whose direction the recluses were re-established

blished according to the original intention. The advantages which have resulted from these regulations, may be estimated by the following comparative statement. In 1766, the period above alluded to, thirty-four females only were to be numbered, and much difficulty was found in keeping up that small establishment. At the present time, the commencement of April 1792, the number is considerably more than quadrupled. The females who are commonly known by the name of *beatas* (devotees) were then confined to fourteen only; but now amount to twenty-four, that being the number limited by the viceroy, with two supernumeraries. There are besides twenty-nine poor girls and orphans, fifteen repentant females, fifty boarders for education, eleven females who have voluntarily sought an asylum in the establishment, and thirty-six others belonging to the different casts, partly for education, and partly as domestics, forming in the whole a total of one hundred and sixty-seven persons*, without reckoning either the recluses, whose stay is merely temporary, or the married women who retire thither to commence the legal proceedings for a divorce.

The above are the principal and most important benevolent establishments in the capital of Peru, in referring to which, the learned Murillo asserts, on the authority of father Calan-

* By consulting the first table of the demonstrative plan of the population of Lima, it will be seen that, in the course of fifteen months, from the commencement of 1791 to the above expressed date, twenty individuals were added to the establishment.

cha, that “there is not a city in the world in which so many alms are distributed.” If this be an elogy, it is likewise an historical fact ; and the sincere relation of heroical actions is in itself a panegyric. Without reckoning the innumerable oratories, hermitages, and internal sanctuaries in the convents, monasteries, and private houses, most sumptuously erected, and adorned with exquisite taste, curiosity, and riches, Lima is embellished by fifty-six great temples, magnificent on account of their majestic fabric, their spacious extent, the splendour of their worship, and the pomp of their solemnities. Of these, the largest and most superbly ornamented is the cathedral church*. In addition to these large sacred edifices, there are twenty-six public chapels, many of which, on account of their size, might be properly denominated churches.

The above cited Murillo, taking Ulloa as his guide, reckons no more than nineteen convents of regulars in Lima. He can, however, have paid but little attention to the subject ; since, however they may be at present applied to other purposes, the four colleges, or religious houses of San Pablo, Desamparados, Noviciado, and Cercado, are of that description, independently of the nineteen others, four of which belong to the Dominicans, three to the Franciscans, three to the Augustins, three to the Mercedarios, or friars of the order of Mercy, one to the Minims, two to the Ministers of the Sick, one to the hospitallers of San Juan De Dios, and two to the

* The nomenclature of the different churches, inserted in the original, would not, any more than those of the chapels, monasteries, &c. be interesting to the English reader.

Bethlemites. Besides these convents, there are four hospitals belonging to the Benedictines, the Gerónims, the Franciscan missionaries attached to the college of Ocopa, and the minor brothers who collect alms for the holy places of Jerusalem. The monasteries belonging to the nuns are fourteen in number; and to these may be added the five receptacles for devotees who have not taken the veil. One of these establishments is for Indian women of noble extraction. Among a great variety of confraternities, there are five principal congregations of seculars. Next follow two colleges for females, namely, that of la Caridad, for the education of young girls, and that of Santa Cruz, for female orphans. Each of these establishments has not only sufficient funds for its support, but is likewise enabled to portion off those who are on the foundation, according to the condition of life they may think proper to embrace. At a small distance from the receptacle for the support and education of orphans, there is another for women, in which they are gratuitously lodged. There are also four establishments for the exercises of St. Ignatius, three for men, and one for women.

Peralta reckons eleven hospitals only in the city of Lima, including the hall of St. Louis, situated in the interior of the magnificent infirmary of the great convent of Franciscan monks, and destined for the maintenance and cure of sick and disabled domestics. Without, however, taking this establishment into the account, there are at this time fifteen hospitals open for the reception of the sick. That of St. Andrew is destined for Spaniards and their immediate descendants; that of St. Ann, for Indians, with two separate infirmaries,
one

one for men, the other for women*. That of Santa Maria De La Caridad, for Spanish women, and those who approach the nearest to that class. El Espiritu Santo, for seafaring persons of every description. San Bartholeme, with two distinct buildings, for men and women of the negro cast, and their immediate races. San Juan De Dios, for Spaniards. The Bethlemites, for Indian men within the cloisters of the convent, and, in front of the church, for women of that nation. The Refuge, for incurables, within the convent for men, and, in its vicinity, for women. St. Lazarus, for lepers of both sexes, in separate infirmaries. And, lastly, las Camilas, for women labouring under any infirmity, and of every condition.

To these great establishments may be added four colleges for public instruction, three of them for the higher faculties of the arts, civil and canonical laws, and theology; and the other for Latinity and polite literature. And, finally, many public schools for reading and writing, the masters belonging to which are, as well as the pens, ink, and paper, at the charge of the community. An incredible number of large funds have been collected, to portion off, annually, young girls of virtuous and sober manners, either for the cloisters, or for a wedded state. The benefices and anniversaries, or yearly obits, are as numerous as the endowments designed to celebrate, with the utmost pomp and magnificence, the sacred festivals of Jesus Christ and the Saints. With the exception of the cathedral church; of the chapel of the palace; and of the

* Wherever there is an establishment for each of the sexes, two distinct hospitals are reckoned.

college of Ocopa, for which Lima is indebted to the munificence of the sovereigns of Spain ; of the two jails built by the city ; of the chapel of the Inquisition, constructed by the noblemen who compose that tribunal ; of that of the university, erected at the expence of its illustrious chapter ; and of the spittal of the Escorial, the work of the present enlightened and zealous administrator of its rents : all the other edifices are glorious monuments of the piety and benevolence of native Peruvians. This is the more deserving of consideration, because these edifices having been repeatedly damaged or destroyed, by the frequent earthquakes that have occurred ; and their funds, embarked in real properties, either deteriorated, or entirely lost, by the violence of the earthquakes themselves, or by other accidental causes ; they have all of them been re-edified, repaired, and improved by public alms, arising not only from the large donations of the rich, but from the contributions of the half reals of the poor. Without prejudice to these immense largesses, incredible sums of money are collected ; for the purpose of redeeming christian captives ; for the ransom of the places where our own redemption was wrought ; for the shrouds and interment of those who die ; for religious communities ; for criminals under sentence of death ; and for the support of indigent and decayed families.

We cannot conclude better than by citing the expressions of count De La Granja, in the preamble to his heroical poem on the life of Santa Rosa. “ In this territory (Peru), not less favoured by Apollo and Minerva, than by Ceres and Pomona, there happily prevails among the inhabitants a gentle temperament which renders them connatural with humanity and liberality. All are compassionate ; all generous ;—not only those
who

who abound in riches ; but those who, by the sweat of the brow, and the labour of the hands, can scarcely procure what is necessary to the purposes of life, are equally merciful and charitable.”

DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUNTAIN IN THE GREAT SQUARE OF LIMA.

IN the centre of the square, and three feet and a half above its plane, rises a level surface of masonry, the sides of which have a dimension of fifteen yards. The ascent of stone with which it is provided, is surrounded by an open aqueduct, to collect the discharged water, which thence precipitates itself into a moat. Above is stationed the principal basin, having a diameter of nine yards, surmounted by eight lions, and as many griffons recumbent at their feet. It is covered externally with exquisite moldings and vases of flowers in bas-relief, and internally lined, both on its plane and circle, with an inlaid pavement of different colours. In the centre it has a pedestal, eighteen feet in height, composed of three square partitions*, finely ornamented. This pedestal supports the second basin, three yards in diameter, which dis-

* The first of these partitions, four feet in height, including its base and socle, is beautifully wrought. The second, which has an elevation of eleven feet, is decorated by moldings, and by foliage and other devices at the edges and corners. On the four sides are inscriptions containing the names and qualities of the persons who were concerned in the construction of the fountain. By one of these inscriptions it appears, that the pile was raised, by order of count Salvatierra, the viceroy, by Antonio De Rivas, a celebrated architect, in 1650. The third partition is three feet in height, and is adorned with a variety of curious devices.

perses the water by eight *mascarons*, or grotesque figures representing the heads of animals. Over this basin rises a column two feet in diameter, and two yards in height, adorned with a variety of foliages and beautiful devices, and having four bandalets which support the most elevated basin. This last has a circumference of somewhat more than six yards, and is surrounded by ten beautiful seraphims which spout the fluid it collects. In its centre appears, in a pyramidal form, another finely wrought column, two yards in height, which receives the vase of foliage that terminates in the pharos, composed of six columns, two feet and a half in elevation, forming a cupola on which is seen the figure of Fame, a yard and three quarters in height, with a helmet on the head, the arms of the sovereign of Spain in the right hand, and in the left, the trumpet with which she proclaims his name and magnificence.

This figure of Fame leads to a particular observation which will atone for a short digression, namely, that the great square is the scene and principal rendezvous of all the public processions that take place in the capital. In the one by which the Indian inhabitants celebrated the coronation of the present king of Spain, Charles IV. several emblematical figures were introduced by them with great taste and effect, as will appear by *Plate VI.* the female portrayed in which represents, very fancifully, the Minerva of Peru.

To return to the fountain. The substance of which all its parts are composed is bronze ; and its respective ornaments are conformable to the rules of the composite order of civil architecture. It has an elevation of fifteen yards and one-third to the helmet of Fame. Deducting one yard and three-quarters for the height of that figure, there remain thirteen clear yards
and



Female Indian, habited as the Minerva of Peru.



and seven-twelfths only, to the part to which the water rises to diffuse itself.

At each angle of the level surface of masonry, appears a small basin formed in a socle ; together with three salient ornaments, from one of which a pyramid, adorned with flowers in bas-relief, rises, and conveys, by the means of three tubes, the water to its basin, which is likewise fabricated of bronze.

This production of art, in every part of which an air of magnificence is combined with a fine architectural taste, is surrounded by twenty-four pieces of artillery, and by sixteen iron chains, which leave, in the centre and at the four angles, a narrow space barely sufficient to afford an access to the inhabitants.

If the description were to break off in this place, the short sketch that has been given might be deemed by the reader to be comparatively of little utility. It cannot fail to be agreeable to him to be made acquainted with the conduits by which the fountain is supplied with its water, and the artificial mode by which that fluid is distributed through the pipes.

In the small square of the college of St. Thomas there is a general reservoir, whence the water, destined for the public and private buildings throughout the city, is regularly distributed by different conduits. From the site of this reservoir to the foot of the fountain, there is a declivity of twelve yards and one-third. The water thus flowing precipitately, as well on account of the inclined plane, as of the impulse it received in its descent from its primitive source, is collected in an oval cistern, two yards and a half in height, and one and a half in diameter, where a dam is formed. Bounding impetuously, it escapes by the free passage which presents itself, with a degree

gree of violence that causes it to diffuse itself copiously in the air, in which it seems to dart on every side its liquid arrows. Now gracefully shooting, and taking a curve similar to that of a beautiful plume of feathers, it falls with a festive and harmonious sound ; and, as if in raillery, dashes itself against the fluid particles that had been before dispersed, bathing at the same time with its dewy spray the most elevated basin of the fountain*. This basin empties itself, by ten pipes, into the second, in which the fluid becoming redundant, is driven, by eight other pipes, into the principal basin. Being there accumulated, it is distributed by a similar number of conductors and their corresponding flutes, which, acting as valves, confine it in certain depositories situated at the foot of the fountain. The compression to which it is there subjected, occasions it to rise forcibly, and to make good its passage, as well by the pyramids placed at the four angles of the level surface of masonry, as by the eight lions, and the griffons recumbent at their feet, which, with great rapidity, return it to the basin whence it was derived. The abundance of the water which flows, by forty-six pipes†, forming a kind of convex belt, is highly agreeable, and truly realizes all the embellishment that art and ingenuity could devise.

Our eyes, accustomed to view these surprizing efforts of the

* The water, flowing out of this basin, rises somewhat higher towards the cupola of the pharos ; that is, it is elevated to the height of thirteen yards and seventwelfths, equal to the descent calculated from its primary source.

† The most elevated basin empties itself by ten pipes ; the middle one by eight ; the lions and griffons by sixteen ; and the pyramids by twelve ; forming in the whole the above number.

human capacity, are too apt to withhold their admiration from an enterprize, which, to be brought to perfection, required much meditation, many trials, and a considerable portion of time. If, however, we recur to past ages, and bestow an attentive consideration on the annals they have transmitted to us, in proportion as we perceive the slowness of their progressive advances, we become sensible of all the excellence it has to boast.

The earliest men, content with the waters with which they were supplied by the rivers and springs, applied their industry solely to the intention of conducting them by certain channels formed without order or method. The necessity of raising them to irrigate arid and lofty grounds, or of clearing them away from inundated spots, induced them to have recourse to certain means, which, however imperfect, were not without their effect. By the aid of machines moved by a great number of men stationed at different points, the waters of the Euphrates were elevated to the gardens of the opulent Babylon. The Egyptians, embarrassed by the frequent inundations of the Nile, thought of various means by which they might drain their grounds; but were ignorant of the contrivance which was requisite for that purpose. They fancied it to be a cylinder, round which a tube should revolve, both withoutside and within, in the form of a screw, and, by agitating the water, should raise it so long as the cylinder should be kept in motion. This was in reality the screw of Archimedes.

In his History of the Progress of the Human Understanding, Savarién asserts, that Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome, conducted to that city the water of the fountain Picens, by the

the means of arches and aqueducts admirably constructed. This assertion is, however, destitute of all probability, such a magnificence being utterly incompatible with the poverty of Romulus, and with the huts of the shepherds which were consumed by the fire of the Gauls. Other writers, on the authority of the fifth law of the twelve tables, affirm that the decemvirs were the first to construct aqueducts ; but without recurring to the indigence of the Romans at that epoch, it is simply necessary to pay a little attention to the context of the above law, to regard this opinion as an unreasonable conjecture, since it does nothing more than treat of the trenches that were to be dug in the plains, to serve as receptacles for the water which was at the same time to be made to communicate with other grounds.

Aqueducts were, according to Justus Lipsius, invented by the censor Appius Claudius, who, by the means of subterraneous canals, brought from the river Tiber to Rome, water of an excellent quality, which was discharged at the gates Capena and Trigemina, and thence directed to the Campus Martis. The successful issue of these early attempts stimulated the Romans to undertake the magnificent works, having a reference to the same object, which at this time attract the admiration of the most celebrated architects. Casiodorus more particularly celebrates the surprizing structure of their aqueducts, and the singular salubrity of the waters they conveyed, describing with astonishment those canals, fabricated in solid rocks of a great elevation, which appeared to be the productions of Nature herself. On this account they were justly considered by Julius Frontinus as incontestable tokens of the grandeur of the Roman empire.

The

The aqueducts the fabrication of which was begun by Caius Cæsar, and which were brought to their highest perfection by the emperor Claudius, were incontrovertibly superior to the productions of that nature which had been before undertaken. The elevated columns, and dilated arches, that served as canals for the conveyance of the immense masses of water, which, in precipitating itself from the lofty summit of the Aventine hill, appeared to irrigate a profound valley, are the most authentic and demonstrative monuments of the sublimity of the mind of man.

The Romans were not, however, satisfied with these rare edifices, which vied in magnificence with the superb pyramids of Egypt, and exceeded them in utility ; but meditated daily new modes of improving the science of the movement of the waters, a part of which they preserved in a determinate place. Marcus Agrippa, when edile, undertook to convey them to a fountain ; to unite many streams after they had been well cleansed ; and to form seven hundred lakes or pools ; five hundred piles ; and a hundred and thirty receptacles ; adorning the whole of these works with three hundred statues of marble and bronze, and four hundred columns. He thus contributed towards the splendour of Rome, and bestowed a lasting benefit on his fellow-citizens, whom he constantly supplied with salubrious and abundant waters.

These fountains, these immense aqueducts, on which prodigious sums were expended, were not confined to the limits of Rome : the provinces of the empire likewise enjoyed all the beauties of their fine architecture, and the copious waters they distributed artificially. The Roman aqueduct entitled the *Pont-du-Gard*, in the vicinity of Nismes, boasts at this time a

degree of preservation which evinces both the skill of the architect, and the solidity of the materials employed in its construction. Public utility was not the sole object of these magnificent undertakings, in many instances of which vanity and diversion had a predominant share. The water destined for those edifices of superb architecture, the baths and *nymphæa*, was conveyed to them by well-formed pipes, at the same time that different fountains were made to play, so as to combine a refreshing coolness with an agreeable perspective. Julius Capitolinus makes mention of the *nymphæa* fabricated at Rome by Gordian, and dwells with particular pleasure on the one constructed by Clearcus, prefect of Constantinople, in the forum of Theodosius, the water for the supply of which was brought from the magnificent aqueduct built by the emperor Valens. Socrates, in his Ecclesiastical History, extols the Aquileian baths in the above city, which were destroyed by fire in the year of Christ 430, and in which art displayed all its graces and beauties.

Even individuals displayed a rare magnificence in the fountains and reservoirs of water they had in their houses, as well in the city as in their country retirements. Pliny, in his celebrated epistle to Apollinaris, gives a most pompous description of his Tuscan villa, which was embellished by a profusion of fountains, cascades, &c. ; and Cicero speaks of the conduits, stiled *Euripi* and *Nili*, provided with lofty arches, that conveyed, from great distances to the houses of the grandees, the immense masses of water distributed in the *piscinæ*, fountains, and lakes, which a boundless vanity had multiplied.

Other nations, nobly vying in opulence with ancient Rome, have likewise excelled in the erection of these monuments, in
which



Indians, Male and Female, in Costumes of Festivity.

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which pomp and recreation proceed in concert with the comforts of the people. The celebrated fountains of the Luxembourg, the Thuilleries, and Versailles; and those of la Granja, and the other royal palaces of Madrid; the waters of which, in flowing, form a thousand figures highly agreeable to the sight, are irrefragable testimonies of this truth. The famous aqueduct constructed by order of queen Catharine of Medicis, to conduct the waters to Paris, exceeds in some respects those by which the Romans immortalized their luxury and magnificence. The admirable fountains fabricated by cardinal De Richelieu in the plains of Ruel, lead the spectator to contemplate with surprize the progress and rare contrivances of hydraulics. Thus the obstinacy and indefatigable application of man, to overcome the difficulties that prevent the execution of his enterprizes, are rewarded by those sublime inventions which demonstrate the full extent of the vast penetration and energy of his mind.

Another subject of an Indian festival is introduced in *Plate VII*. The male and female it represents are arrayed in burlesque costumes, such as are generally adopted by the Peruvian aborigines, with a very picturesque effect, on these occasions of hilarity and rejoicing.

 PUBLIC DIVERSIONS.

THE THEATRE constitutes the principal amusement. Its decorations are regular, and the performers not bad. There have been, and there are, indeed, at present, some among them who might figure conspicuously at Madrid and Naples.

The house is neat and commodious ; and, through the vigilance of the magistrates, the best order is observed during the representations. It may, however, be asked, why the sensible part of the audience unite in applauding certain interludes which are performed with no other view than to give pleasure to the commonalty ? They are perhaps not aware, that a violent clapping of the hands arraigns still more forcibly the depraved taste that dictates the praises bestowed on the comedies of monks, popes, and saints, which ought to be abolished in an age like the present, and in a country so enlightened as Peru. In other respects, justice must be done to the truth. The theatres of Europe do not observe a moderation and a decency equal to those which are displayed by ours, with respect to the internal regulations of the galleries and *crescent*. A little modern taste in the selection of the pieces ; a more diligent study of the comic parts ; somewhat less of vehemence in the declamations ; a forbearance from the practice of smoking at the time of the performances ; and, lastly, a certain degree of indulgence which should enable any one to seat himself in the pit without regarding his dress or his peruke ; would not only improve our theatre, but would likewise render it much more agreeable and useful to those by whom it is frequented

COFFEE-HOUSES were unknown in Lima until the year 1771. The *mate**, the use of which was before general, required a considerable portion of time for the infusion, and certain precautions, which rendered it incompatible with an establishment to be frequented by the public. Accordingly, this drink

* It is composed of an infusion of the herb of Paraguay in boiling water, and sugar.

was peculiar to the assemblies and social parties; but, considered as a domestic refreshment, it has at length lost all its credit.

In the above-cited year a coffee-house was opened in the street of Santo Domingo, and was considered as a singular novelty. It was followed, at the commencement of 1772, by another establishment of a similar nature. They were fully approved by the viceroy, who was persuaded that they would have a direct tendency to benefit society. It is certain, at least, that assemblies in coffee-houses, conducted with the moderation, decency, and propriety, which mark the disposition of the Peruvians, serve to unite man to man, to produce a uniformity of character, to augment the circulation and resources of subsistence, to contribute to the convenience of those who dwell in the vicinity, and to afford them an innocent recreation. The city did not, however, witness without repugnance the introduction of this custom. Another coffee-house was, notwithstanding, opened by the original projector in 1775; and was so successful that, on the following year, he ventured on a new speculation of the same kind, and made choice of a more commodious and central situation. This last establishment is at the present time the most flourishing.

By degrees the above coffee-houses became so much frequented, at the same time that the gains of the keepers were supposed to be very considerable, as to suggest the idea of two others, one of which was opened in 1782, and the other in 1788. In each coffee-house there is a billiard-table, a species of amusement which would be less censurable, if admittance were to be denied to young men of family, and to youths who
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are in this manner impeded in the prosecution of their studies. Jellies and drinks of every description are provided ; and although there is a great concourse of persons, more especially at an early hour in the morning, and in the afternoon, an uninterrupted harmony prevails.

The Literary Memoirs of Madrid* contain the provisions made by Don Mariano Colon, superintendant-general of police of that court, with a view to the introduction of a greater decorum in the coffee-houses. The principal enactments are as follows : “ First, that in all the coffee-houses in which a certain share of decency, and a corresponding neatness, should not be observed, painted cloths should be hung up, the walls white-washed, and the doors and tables coloured. Secondly, that a clean dish should be served to each individual, notwithstanding three or four persons should unite together, for this reason, that, in pouring the liquor from the cup to the saucer, it was spilled on the table, so as, by the slightest inattention, to stain the clothes and mantles of the company. Thirdly, that the waiters should, on their presenting themselves, be clean, without either a net or a bonnet on the head, and, if possible, combed, &c. &c.” What would some of our readers say if we were to insinuate the like ? And what would be the language of the critics who are desirous that the Mercury should alone be the vehicle of adulation, and the propagator of private sentiments ? Let them say what they may, we will not lose our time in confuting them. Once for all, our reply is, that we do not write solely for the limits of this capital, nor for the year 1791. So long as our periodical work shall be

* Vol. x. pages 404 and 405.

continued, we shall labour for the information of the whole world, and for posterity. It may happen that, either in this or in the other hemisphere, the account we have given of the coffee-houses of Lima may be one day more highly valued than the relations, so often printed, and so often repeated, of its wars, conquest, and foundation. Establishments of this nature are intimately connected with the civil system of a country; and these little monuments of the luxury and policy of our age, may enable those who are to come after us, to estimate and know the history of the conveniences of this capital, its manner of thinking, and the gradations by which it has begun to emulate, perhaps to excel Europe.

The COCK MATCHES, a very favourite amusement of the inhabitants of Lima, were formerly not subject to any particular regulations either of time or place. The consequence was, that they not only occasioned many individuals to neglect the duties they owed to society, but excited continual quarrels among those who were the most addicted to this species of entertainment. To remedy this abuse, a particular building was erected in the year 1762, in the little square of Santa Catalina, the last in the city, and in a manner contiguous to its walls. A fitter situation could not have been made choice of for this purpose. The copious stream which flows in front of the edifice, and the extensive gardens by which it is surrounded on every side, not only render the prospect it possesses highly agreeable, but likewise contribute to its embellishment and cleanliness, preserving a pure and fresh air, without which it is certain that many serious diseases originate in theatres and other places of public resort.

The building itself forms a beautiful amphitheatre of a circular

cular shape, with its range of seats, and nine open spaces for the spectators. There are two entrances, the passages leading from which are occupied by them ; and, on the opposite side, are two other entrances, with their corresponding passages, in which the cocks that are destined to fight in the afternoon are separately kept by those who are interested in the sport. In the outer part of the circle there is a commodious stair-case, by which to ascend to the apartments and galleries above, they being twenty-nine in number, without reckoning the one occupied by the judge, and distinguished from the others by its extent and decoration.

This amusement is permitted on Sundays and festivals, and twice weekly on working days. The price of admission to the passages is one real ; to the seats, two reals ; and to the galleries, four. The open spaces are occupied gratis. The doors are opened at two in the afternoon, and the diversion, which commences at four, is continued until vespers. On particular days, the concourse of persons of the different classes is very considerable, but not the smallest tumult occurs among those who are in the habit of betting. The authority of the judge, who is accompanied by a party of the military, is sufficiently respected to restrain every disorder ; and, as a further precaution, there are established rules for the decision of the doubtful cases.

The TENNIS-COURT, which is open to the public, affords to the spectator an agreeable hour of relaxation from his more serious pursuits, and to the player an exercise which contributes to his health. The bets which are made on either of the parties ought not to exceed a few piastres. He who risks a quantity of ounces of gold, is soon made sensible that he
has



Fighter at a Bull-Feast.

Pub. Feb 1805, by, Richard Phillips, 6, New Bridge Street.

been in search, not of an honest diversion, but of a ruinous game.

The BULL FEASTS have their determinate time and place. When the prize-fighters are denied an opportunity to display their valour, they are admired on account of their legerity. The custom of hamstringing the bull that does not attack, is very censurable: another method ought to be devised to kill him, without resorting to this one, which conveys with it an idea of cold and deliberate treachery. The spectators are not a little molested by the importunities of the venders of a particular description of punch, stiled by them *agua de berros* (cress-water), so much overcharged with brandy, that it would be fatal in any other country less moderate than Peru. In this diversion the mode is not so cruel as it was six or eight years ago. A fighter at a bull-feast is represented in *Plate VIII.*

The ASSEMBLAGES of company on the banks of the *Amancaes* river, commence on St. John's day, the 24th of June, and terminate at the close of September. The excursions to the hills* adjacent to Lima take place at the same time. The gentle *garua*†, descending from that station, covers with

* These hills are named the Amancaes and St. Christopher. They may be considered as a continuation of the cordillera of the Andes mountains, notwithstanding they are comparatively very low, and project into the delightful valley of Rimac, in the centre of which Lima is situated.

† This is a provincial term, by which is implied a very small mist or dew, having the effect of diffusing an equable moisture over the earth. Such a resolution of the vapours which hover over the city and surrounding plains, must be highly agreeable to the inhabitants of the district of *los Valles*, who never witness a formal shower of rain.

shrubs and flowers the sandy plains that terminate the valley, and the hills by which it is encompassed. These diversions, insomuch as they are rural, delight, and are not attended by any bad consequences, unless when there is an excess in the repasts, and when the whole of the company come to a determination to sleep in the open air, or in a wretched hut deserted by the Indians.

The PROMENADE which is not only the most considerable, but which it is in a manner indispensably necessary to attend, is that of the *Alameda*, or public walk, on Sundays, and more especially on new year's day, and twelfth day, on account of the election of the *alcaldes*, or judges; and, on the second of August, on occasion of the jubilee in the church in the vicinity, belonging to the Franciscan Recollects. The multitude of coaches and calashes; the diversity of their colours and structure; the neatness of the dresses; the illustrious persons who are present; and the superb attire of the ladies who embellish the scene;—all these objects concur to render this description of public spectacle very agreeable. Caprice has, notwithstanding, thrown some little perplexity in the way. A certain precision in the demeanour of those who are seated in the calashes, and who are obliged to regard each other steadfastly, without turning the head aside, together with the impossibility of appearing on foot without sinning against the received usage, are insufferable violences, more particularly to those who do not keep carriages. The public, however, begin to be sensible of these prejudices, and to shake them off.

The WALK of *la Piedra Lisa* is solitary, and on that account destined for philosophers prone to meditation. The thick foliage

foliage of the trees which surround it ; their agreeable shade ; the proximity of the river ; the view of every part of the beautiful valley of Lurigancho ; the near perspective of the city ; and the landscape formed by the cultivated grounds on the opposite bank ; not only gratify the sight, but likewise inspire a soft enthusiasm, and elevate the spirit to the contemplation of the Supreme Creator of Nature.

In this retired and enchanting spot the *Lovers of the Country** formed the project of subjecting to a slight criticism the diversions of Lima, with a hope that their productions will be favourably received by their fellow-citizens, who will pardon them, if, peradventure, they should be too free, or should be deficient in the delicacy required.

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS.

To illustrate this subject, and at the same time to avoid giving offence, the authors of the Peruvian Mercury have had recourse to an ingenious allegory, which they entitle “ An Historical Apologue on the Corruption of the Roman Colonies in Africa,” and the application of which will be readily understood. It is introduced in the following manner.

The historical department, the first in the order of our publication, demands from us a decided preference. It has therefore been our wish to possess all the valuable materials contained in the archives, so as to be enabled to enrich and adorn

* The Academical Society so called.

it. For this purpose we have purchased a prodigious quantity of manuscripts, which had hitherto been consigned to the dust, and to oblivion. On the afternoon of the day before yesterday, we were engaged in examining them, when the censor of our society threw out the idea of compiling and publishing a history of the public morals of these countries. We instantly repelled the thought, not only on account of the arduousness of the undertaking, but likewise of the risk of its not being acceptable, or taken in ill part. Our associate insisted that his proposition should be adopted; but we employed all our eloquence to persuade him that our apprehensions were well founded. A fortuitous accident enabled us to terminate the dispute. It chanced that among the above-mentioned manuscripts we met with a parchment half eaten by the worms, but whether from the pen of Tacitus, Florus, or Suetonius, is uncertain. Its context appeared to us to be very analogous to the subject under discussion; and we therefore agreed to translate it literally, so far as it was legible, and to publish it, with a view to see whether this respectable public is sufficiently docile to receive, without displeasure, corrections of a similar nature. It bears the inscription which has been already pointed out, and begins thus :

“ ——— *Quid rides? Mutato nomine de te
Fabula narratur.* ” Horat.

“ When the invincible Scipio destroyed Carthage, all Africa became subject to the Capitol. The spirit of enterprize inspired an ardent longing for certain regions which were in a manner inhabitable. There were entire nations who preferred the shores of Numidia to those of Italy. Many cities
were

were founded. The parched Carthaginian, and the naked Lybian, saw certain virtues, which had hitherto been unknown, flourish in their soil.

“ The rigid integrity which is characteristic of a republican heart, shone in these colonies as at Rome. Proud of the glorious title of a Roman, each individual, whatever might be his age or condition, sought to merit, by his heroical exploits, the honour which that name conferred on him. The matron, content in the retirement of a disabused time of life, looked forward with anxiety to the relation of the military prowess of her sons. The wedded female had no other delight than that of rearing the fruits of her conjugal tenderness, and moulding them into good citizens. The damsel, full of innocence, was a stranger to love until the happy moment when Hymen revealed to her its mysterious secrets. She fancied that this sentiment was merely a recompense due to the valour of some youthful lover, who viewed her with impassioned eyes when he returned from the war laden with the spoils of the enemy.

“ The frailty and inconstancy inherent in our miserable species, were too powerful for the virtue even of the Romans, and operated a change in these fine principles. Riches and voluptuousness were the fatal instruments ; and the degeneracy of the colonies found its punishment in the moral and physical calamities which supervened.

“ Enriched by the treasures of Annon, Amilcar, Syphax, and the other subjugated kings and generals, the Romans began to view with disgust the severity of the ancient customs they had brought from Europe. Frankness, sobriety, valour, and constancy, were virtues which gradually became relaxed, and yielded at length to dissimulation, rioting, frivolity, and sloth.

sloth. For the rural and domestic labours, they tore from their fire-sides and household gods, the Nubians, Egyptians, and Abyssinians. The martial laws, the right of conquest, and the example of other nations, gave a legitimacy to this description of tyranny.

“ The enervation of the Romans was infused, in an immediate way, into their wives ; and they contributed to augment and perpetuate it. The Portias, Cornelias, and Lucretias, highly gratified at being relieved from their domestic duties by the African female slaves who surrounded them, laid aside the needle, and the spindle, delivering themselves up to vanity, and finally concentrating all their delight in the intrigues of Cupid. They were in need of secret agents and confidants ; and for this purpose made choice of their bondwomen. The latter, constitutionally degenerate, and less conspicuous on account of the parity of colour, were better calculated to go abroad, to maintain an epistolary correspondence, and to promote a furtive introduction. Insensibly, those who had before served them in the meanest capacities, found themselves the depositaries of the confidence of their ladies.

“ On another hand, these same Roman women, at whose breasts had been nurtured those who in the sequel gave laws to the whole world, viewed with disdain the noble occupation of suckling and rearing their infants. They confided this trust to the female slave, who saw hanging at her neck him who was destined to be one day her lord.

“ Behold thus the monstrous Egyptian women at one and the same time the sovereign disposers of the life of those to whom they appertained, and of the honour of their mistresses. Elated by this double motive, they emulated the Roman females

males themselves, in their dress, their language, and even in their pleasures. The youth whose beard began to form itself, feeling as it were an attachment to his puerile dependency, viewed with tenderness and complacency a cast whose milk was his first aliment. The husband, dissatisfied with the cold retribution of a divided bed, sought a compensation in the female slave. The horror of his loathsome crime was confounded in the obscurity of his accomplice. The mixture of the specieses became common, and thence originated the various sub-divisions which are more or less valued in proportion to the degrees of proximity or distance from their original colour. These spurious fruits of an abominable union ceased already to be useful in the domestic occupations, or performed them with an air of superiority. The fashions, personal merit, and the education of the youth, were swayed and directed by these vile souls. Their influence, and the common depravation, were carried to such a length, that the Roman women, even these Roman women, gloried in having some resemblance, either in the mind or person, with their female slaves. The avenues of pleasure and of love.....”

Here the parchment was so much worm-eaten, that it was impossible for us to ascertain to what length these declamations may have been carried. In one respect we congratulated ourselves on this circumstance ; for if the author of the manuscript had been enabled, through us, to explain himself still further, his translators might have been exposed to the risk, that this noble public, and the persons engaged in its service, might regard this fragment as a metaphorical satire, which certainly never entered into their thought.

Plate IX. represents two female domestics, natives, who have adopted the Spanish dress, and, with it, the habits of their superiors.

In continuation of the above satire, a correspondent who styles himself Hiponobates, addresses to the Academical Society the following

ALLEGORICAL DREAM.

The hardness of my couch, the agreeable recollections of my daily adventures, and the perusal of the *Mercuries*, which I have recourse to almost invariably before I lie down to rest, are wont to procure me dreams of so delightful and durable a nature, that the illusions of my nocturnal repose occasionally appear to me to be realities. The other night, in thinking of the allusion which the historical apologue you have published might convey, my fancy was exalted; and, with this subject strongly impressed on my mind, I fell asleep. The drowsy poppies which Morpheus shed over me, to lull my wearied faculties, were not capable of effacing entirely the impressions of my spirit. Whether it was occasioned by the particular nature of these impressions, or by the sensibility of the soul, I know not, but I had a dream of such length and consistency, as to appear to me to be deserving of your attention, if it be on no other account than because it corresponds with the above cited apologue, the object of each of the broken narrations being in a manner the same.

It appeared that, after cruel sufferings, the ship on board of which I was embarked foundered, and that all the companions



Two Female Domestics of Lima, Natives, who have adopted the Spanish Dress.

panions of my voyage perished, I alone having been enabled to reach the shore of an unknown island. As soon as I had set my foot on ground, I perceived that my clothes, which were before dripping with moisture, had become dry. I received a new vigour in every part of my body ; and an enthusiasm, such as I had not hitherto felt, took possession of my soul. Encouraged by this invisible aid, which appeared to me nothing less than divine, I penetrated into the interior of the island. On reaching the summit of a small hill by which the sea-shore was bounded, what an enchanting spectacle presented itself to my view ! I discovered a vast plain overshadowed by luxuriant palms and aged oaks, having its surface enamelled by the most beautiful productions of Flora, and intersected by a small river, the crystal waters of which afforded a sight of the golden sands that covered the bottom. A chain of mountains, whose lofty summits were hidden in the clouds, terminated the horizon, and gave to the whole of the scene a majestic and sublime perspective. The sweet chirping of the birds, the breath of a soothing zephyr, and the soft murmur of the waters of the river, occasionally interrupted, and rendered less gloomy, the profound silence which prevailed throughout this fortunate island. The aspect of so delightful a region recalled to my recollection what I had read of the Elysian Fields, and what I had seen in some parts of Peru, at the same time that the territory which lay before me appeared to me to be the particular abode of a divinity. Already I had ceased to have any remembrance of the shipwreck, of my country, and even of my own existence.

Absorbed in the contemplation of so many beauties, I observed a venerable old man, clad like the Goths our ancestors,

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approach

approach me with his hoary locks. The ecstasy which had taken a complete possession of me, deprived me of all dread and apprehension on viewing him. He came up to me, and in a grave and deliberate tone, addressed me thus : “ Fortunate man, whosoever thou mayest be, who hast had the happiness to tread on this ground, know that thou art in the country of *ASTREA*. That divinity, a fugitive from thy perverse world, where it is criminal to speak the truth and practise justice ; where nothing more is coveted than a vile and deceitful adulation ;—has chosen in this island a retreat, in which she lives without any other companion than myself. I am *TRUE MERIT* : I have retired to this solitude, because I could find neither access, protection, nor reward among thy race of beings.”

Notwithstanding this address filled me with confusion, I was about to make a reply expressive of my thanks, and in the way of compliment, when I saw a new prodigy, still more awful than the former : enveloped in a cloud partly azure and partly of a golden hue, a figure resembling a human being stood before me. I fancied it to be the goddess ; but in an instant the old man, as if he had divined my thought, said to me : “ Thou art mistaken : this is not *ASTREA*, but the celebrated *EUGENIA*, who, having in the world the reputation of being the most lovely of women, is come hither, to the end that we may confirm her in that opinion. Approach, take heed, hear, profit, and be silent.”

As soon as I had a near view of the nymph who had appeared to us, I exclaimed : “ Eternal Heavens, what do I see !” I was unable to say more, my senses having been subdued by terror. I perceived a creature of my own species, but

of

of a different sex, beautiful as a goddess, or more than a goddess, if that be possible. Her long and black hair was confined by small and numerous tresses ; it scarcely flowed with freedom on the shoulders, and there, forming graceful ringlets, played with the wind, or with the motions of the body. Her eyes were black and piercing. Her eye-brows, of the same colour, regular, and thickly planted, set off to still greater advantage the perfect whiteness of her face :—of a face which appeared to me so beautiful, and so divine, that the Peruvian ladies alone could vie with her in symmetry of features. The arms, well turned, full, and delicate, terminated in hands of equal perfection. The other parts of the body remained concealed in the dense substance of the cloud, so as to prevent me from ascertaining, by the particulars of her dress, the nation and country to which this prodigy of beauty might belong.

Without being able to contain myself, I said to the old man, my guide : “ If you and *ASTREA* be just and dispassionate judges, you cannot deny to *EUGENIA* the title which she claims, of possessing an incomparable assemblage of graces.” —“ Ah ! inexperienced youth,” replied the scrupulous elder ; “ enraptured youth, thy admiration would be just, if all the beauties thou viewest were inherent and natural, and were not counterbalanced by affectation and imposture. Observe attentively : that white which surprizes thee so much, is a thin coat of arsenic or white lead, laid on with art, and in a manner glued to the skin. This is a despicable custom in any other nation ; but, among the countrywomen of *EUGENIA*, it is absolutely criminal, seeing that, by its adoption, they injure and tarnish their natural whiteness, that surprizing whiteness which

excites the envy of all the other ladies in the world. Art thou desirous to see the mischiefs by which this detestable paint is accompanied? Remark the forehead, which has a somewhat disproportionate width: it proves that the hair has fallen off at the temples, by the friction of this vile ingredient. Observe, now that she smiles: she has several decayed teeth; and if it were lawful for thee to approach her, thou wouldst be sensible that her breath even is in some measure vitiated. All these are consequences of the same abuse."

"The hands," exclaimed in continuation the scrupulous censor, "those hands which, physically, are beyond a doubt well shaped, delicate, and handsome, have, in a moral point of view, several very notable defects. Those honourable marks which the use of the needle, or of the distaff, occasionally leaves, are not to be traced on them. Among her countrywomen, it is considered as derogatory, to know how to take up a loop in a stocking; and but few are to be found who are able to embroider a pair of ruffles, for the husband, or for the boys. The discoloration which is so perceptible at the tips of the thumb, fore-finger, and middle finger of the right hand, is owing to these extremities being regularly made to answer the purpose of the fork, in the repasts:—a filthy practice by which the strongest stomach must be nauseated. Fortunately however, this indelicacy is not to be found among certain principal nymphs who are the flower and the glory of this highly favoured country. So long as EUGENIA and her few culpable companions shall persist in this uncleanly custom, they will not merit my prepossession, nor the suffrage of Justice."

Here the old man made a brief pause, as if he meant to point out



A Lady of Lima in her full Dress.

Pub. Feb. 17-1805. by Richard Phillips, 6 New Bridge Street.

out other small defects, although not very common ones. I availed myself of the opportunity he afforded me, to demand of him the country to which this EUGENIA, so beautiful and so lovely to the view, might belong. He replied with a mysterious smile: "The country of EUGENIA is distant from Pekin about two thousand leagues, and more than ten thousand itinerary miles farther from Madrid."—"Alas!" I exclaimed with surprize, "you cannot be in earnest. You wish to say that the country of EUGENIA is....." The violence with which I made this exclamation awaked me, intercepting on my lips the word by which I was about to divulge the whole of the secret. I awoke, I say, and remained so utterly astonished with this dream, that I address myself to you, gentlemen, praying that you will either interpret it yourselves, or publish it, to the end that it may be explained by any one of your readers deeply versed in these subjects.

A lady of Lima, in her full dress, is represented in *Plate X*.

The original from which the engraving was made, is a highly finished portrait, bearing the stamp of great fidelity of delineation. The most conspicuous part of the costume is the *faldellin*, or short hoop petticoat, more particularly worn in the carriage, and at public entertainments. It is made of richly embroidered cloth, velvet, &c.; is rendered flexible by the means of whalebone; and provided with a wadding, to give it a greater protuberance, so as to display the

the ankle more perfectly. It is attended, however, by this inconvenience, that, in climbing a hill, or on any sudden motion, the wearer makes an exposure which borders on indecency. Its numerous plaits cause it to assume a variety of graceful forms, at the same time that they render it very costly, fifteen yards of stuff at the least being consumed in the outward covering. The expence of this article of dress alone, is rated at between three and four hundred crowns ; notwithstanding which, a modish female of Lima seldom pays a ceremonious visit, without having previously had recourse to the *Bodegones*, the principal street in which the fashion-mongers reside, for a *faldellin* of the newest taste. In their jewels, and, in general, in every part of their dress, the ladies of the Peruvian capital are equally extravagant.

One of their favourite ornaments is the *puchero de flores*, or nosegay, which, as it may serve to illustrate the progress of luxury in that capital, with the civil history of which it is in some degree connected, merits a detailed description. Its basis consists of the blossom of a small apple of the size of a nut, of a white lily, of one or two rose-buds, of the same number of cherry-blossoms, and of the flowers of the Seville orange ; the whole laid on a plane-leaf, of the dimension of the eighth part of a sheet of paper. On the surface of this plane-leaf are disposed chamomile-flowers, the flowers of the yellow lily, violets, daisies, and thyme ; and, over these again, a small branch of basil mint, another of a sweet pea bearing a violet flower intermixed with white, and, occasionally, a stem of hyacinth, a branch of the odoriferous rush having yellow flowers and white leaves, and the blossoms

soms of a small fruit, a kind of strawberry, but larger in size. Having been sprinkled with a water of a common scent, or with a spirituous solution of amber, this *puchero* is valued at half a real.

The different aggregates, such as the blossoms of the little orange of Quito, of the apricot, of the small apples which have an amber colour, of the larger fruits, and of the medlar, together with the chirimoya*, carnations, gillyflowers, anemones, tulips, and other flowers in full season, being conjoined with a *puchero* of double or treble the size of the simple one, augment its price to two or three piastres. Its value is raised or diminished, in proportion to the private festivities which are on foot, and to the times of the public festivals.

To the augmentation of value above-mentioned, is to be superadded the price of the flower named *ariruma*, which is so arbitrary, that it rises from six reals to six or seven piastres, according to the season, or to the demands of the purchasers. Artificial flowers of this description having been recently introduced, have in some measure diminished the value of the natural ones. It is, however, to be noticed, that the *puchero* of natural flowers is to be procured at every season of the year, there being simply a variation of the more exquisite flowers, which, for want of a proper degree of skill in the culture, are not at all times obtainable.

This indispensable luxury is purchased by all the different classes of females, in a street fronting the steps of the cathe-

* A flower of mean appearance, but of exquisite scent.—*Ulloa*.

dral church, from which it is distant about fifty paces. Thence the expectants proceed, either to seek diversion from the chances which may present themselves, or to wait the appointments that have been already made. It is needless to add, that the *Calle del Peligro* (Hazard-street), for so this street is denominated, on account of the dangers to which libertines were formerly exposed, in their intercourse with the abandoned females by whom it was frequented, still continues to be the rendezvous of gallantry.

The station occupied by the women who deal in flowers, is divided between those whose speculations are on a large scale, and the retailers. The former have their backs to the church; each of them confining herself to one or two specieses of flowers. They are the female gardeners; and in their front are ranged those who make the *pucheros*, on the tables placed before them. They are very intent on this occupation, and at the same time very courteous.

In private houses, the *puchero*, or that which corresponds to the *puchero*, is constantly made to serve as a domestic and favourite gratification. The ladies select the flowers, and free them from the sandy and seminal particles, which are apt to soil, and are devoid of scent; such as the yellow at the extremity of the orange-flower, the fibrils of which give out an amber stain, in common with those of the daisy and rose-bud, and of the blossoms of the medlar, apple, and smaller fruits. Having sprinkled them afresh with the purest water, they are placed beneath a crystal vase, into which is introduced a small chafing-dish filled with live coals. On this chafing-dish is poured the most exquisite perfume, blended with different aromatics,

matics, to the end that the natural fragrancy of the flowers may be heightened.

This delicate operation having been performed, an economical distribution is made among the ladies who are present. Each places her portion in her bosom, and thence presents her favourite with an orange-blossom, or a small bunch of flowers, which sometimes receive a greater value from the beautiful hand that bestows them, than from that of Nature herself.

COMPLAINT OF FIXIOGAMIO, ON THE EXTRAVAGANCE OF HIS WIFE.

[*Addressed to the Academical Society.*]

To you, gentlemen, as true lovers of the country, I have recourse for counsel, and for relief from the anxieties, sufferings, and perplexities, which oppress and drive me to despair.

I am a reputable and well-disposed man, very much at your service, gentlemen, and wedded to a lady of great judgment and talents, according to vulgar report ;—well born, of a gentle disposition, possessing many graces and accomplishments, and endued with a rare wit. A certain friend of mine, a great observer in these matters, has noticed in her twenty-five different modes of laughing, and more than forty of looking. As a proof of her vivacity, he says that he has never seen her either gape or stretch herself, notwithstanding she has passed four nights in succession without sleep. In short, she is a precious pearl, and the theme of all the assemblies.

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We will now take a view of the reverse of the medallion, which I shall describe with all possible fidelity. This same nymph, so gracious, and gifted with so many choice and exalted qualities, is the cause of my principal torments. I have a settled annual income of little more than a thousand piastres, to which certain perquisites, usually denominated by evil-disposed persons *manos puercas* (illicit profits), being added, my revenue may be estimated at two thousand. I sincerely wish that I had millions to lay at the feet of my spouse ; but I can assure you that I have not more than I have mentioned. Now to proceed to a recital of my troubles. She never misses a play ; and at the bull feasts she must have her gallery provided. In the winter season* come the excursions, and the extra-excursions, to the mountains ; the promenades, and the extra-promenades, to the banks of the Amancaes river ; and, to crown the whole, she must set out to see the tower of Atocongo, otherwise the house would be thrown into disorder. In the summer, the evenings are passed at the promenade of *la Piedra Lisa*. She regularly bathes with a female companion, and after having quitted the bath, takes a store of the refreshments and fruits that are hawked about. The regular meals within doors are not on that account a jot diminished.

From time to time, we keep the festivals of Lurin, that of San Pedro De Chorrillo, the one which is celebrated at Bellavista, those of San Christoval, Santiago Del Cercado, and

* In this part of Peru, the winter begins at the latter end of the month of June, or at the commencement of July. It is then that the abatement of the before intense heats, enables the inhabitants of Lima to make their rural excursions.

the other peregrinations with which you are well acquainted, without reckoning, once a week at least, a day fixed by one of her companions for an excursion to a garden or plantation in the vicinity. Not an ecclesiastic takes the religious habit, nor a nun, nor a monk even, the vows, but she is the first to hasten to the ceremony. At the festivals of the Blessed Virgin, and the masses of the new year, her devotion is incredible : she scarcely sleeps on those days, that she may not lose any of these holy assemblies. But what deprives me of all patience is this, that in the midst of these rambles, and not satisfied with them, she never absents herself from a public execution. She knows to a minute when a capital punishment is to be inflicted on one ; when another is to be whipped ; and on these mornings she rises early, makes a hasty breakfast, and we set out for the square. I have not yet done. When one of the lottery clerks passes by the house, during the few hours she is within doors, she calls him in, and after a long chit-chat about the chances past, present, and to come, stakes on four numbers at the least, which, with as many smaller adventures, amount to eight piastres per month :—“ *pay them, my soul,*” she repeats, addressing herself to me ; “ *I have not any loose cash about me !*” One day, to my great misfortune, she had a hit ; but such was the concourse of female visitants and their attendants, to partake of the treat, and so many the presents distributed on the occasion, that I may say proverbially, *the tart cost me a loaf*, or, in other words, I was obliged to make considerable disbursements, the hundred and twenty-five piastres gained by our fortunate adventure not sufficing to defray the expences. These things torment me not a little ; but who is capable of resisting a lady ?

As the fruit of our marriage, we have three little boys, whose rearing is confided to the nurse, and to a certain female, the bosom friend of my wife, who is the oracle of the house. We will leave this subject of the children, however, till another opportunity, as the discussion would lead us too far, and proceed to our more immediate object.

I have already mentioned my receipts and revenues : we shall now see what are the expenditures. The rent of the house amounts to four hundred and fifty piastres ; and still the lady is not satisfied, because the parlour, she observes, is too small for country dances. The ordinary expences of house-keeping, in eating and shoe-leather, are not less than a thousand piastres. The extraordinaries of calash and mule, promenades and visits, exceed six hundred. Here then we find somewhat more than the two thousand piastres which I am able to scrape together with all my intelligence. But how are we to be clad ? And how are the physician and surgeon, who make at least a hundred visits in the year, some for the lying-in, others to the mother, and others to the baby, to be paid ? According to a computation I have made, on an average of five years, four *faldellins* are required for the summer, and at least two for the winter, in addition to which last, a thousand supernumerary dresses are needed, because the *faldellin* which served for one occasion is not to be brought out in a hurry for another. How is all this to be discharged ? And, finally, where are the means to pay the goldsmith who renews the fashions, the tailor who invents, changes, and re-changes them, and, more especially, the merchant who delivers to my wife, on credit, the satins, plushes, velvets, &c. ? I am truly so perplexed, that I know not how to turn myself. The
commodes,



A Female of Lima of the middle Class of Society.

Pub. Feb. 24. 1805. by Richard Phillips 6 New Bridge Street.

commodes, the canopy, the ornamental paper, and the dial which stands on the table, are still unpaid for. I owe more than the one half of the amount of the calash, for which I bargained two years ago, and which is already in a ruinous condition. I am indebted for the whole of the fashionable hammock* in which we now sleep, my wife having given the other to her bosom friend. I owe I know not how much to the tailor, shoe-maker, washerman, cigarre-maker, poulterer, peruke-maker, to my barber, and to how many others I cannot say. All I know is, that a few days ago I saw an account at the house of the shoe-maker, amounting to no less than one hundred and eighty-five piastres, for shoes for my blessed spouse. I appeal to your conscience and good understanding, gentlemen: what would you do under such embarrassments? Afford me your advice, &c.

Plate XI. represents a female of Lima, of the middle class of society, such as makes the subject of the above complaint.

REPLY OF ANTISPASIA.

I should be glad to know who is this prater, this FIXIO-GAMIO, who inveighs so much against his wife in one of your Mercuries. I doubt, and am indeed almost persuaded, that it is a dolt of a brother-in-law of mine. If, peradventure, he is the author of this satire, I am desirous to repay him in

* In those countries, to guard against the insects, the bed is suspended in the air.

his own coin, by publishing the follies of his brother Yaco, the husband whom heaven has bestowed on me as a punishment for my sins.

It is now four years since I was married to this dear man, who until very lately followed the avocation of a miner. Twice a year he undertook a journey to his mines. He constantly set out with many hopes ; and with these fair prospects he entertained me, whenever I asked of him any aid which might contribute to my own decent support, or to that of the family ; but came back with empty bags, and with a heart overwhelmed with sorrow. He never had a kind word to bestow on his unfortunate wife. During our short intervals of repose, he entertained me with a history of his discoveries, of the improvements he had made, of his disputes with the Indians, of the projects he had formed, and other absurdities of the same stamp and currency. He never made the smallest inquiry after my health, or that of the children. He was likewise embarked in commerce. When a ship arrived from Spain, he was incessantly engaged, like a distracted man, in making trips to Callao and back again. It chanced, however, one day, that the guards detected him in a small contraband traffic : he came home to vent his spleen on me, and dared to lift his hand against me. It is thus that all his chagrins, losses, and caprices, fall on poor me ; and I have the additional mortification to hear him repeat every where, that I am a bad woman, and do not deserve to possess such a husband.

An inheritance which has fallen to him unexpectedly in la Sierra, has enabled him to emerge from the pursuits of his primitive sphere. We have at this time a considerable income ; but on that account my condition is not bettered. In some things

things Yaco is even prodigal ; in others he is mean ; and in some, again, he appears to be generous. You will see whether I am right in saying this.

In one of the vallies adjacent to the capital, we have a rural retreat to which we repair very often ; but these excursions, instead of diverting me, tend to mortify me still more. The apartments of our country-house are very good, and would be infinitely convenient, if the great number of house-dogs my husband maintains, did not keep them constantly dirty and full of fleas, insomuch, that it does not answer any purpose to sweep them daily. He is enraged when he hears any one of his pointers howl, refusing absolutely to allow them to be tied up, and distributing to them food from his table, in preference to his own children. What is most pleasant is this, that while he is guilty of these weaknesses, he quarrels with me if he sees me caress my little dog, or set aside a few of the sweetmeats for a little mulatto girl I have purchased, and whom I am rearing for my favourite domestic. For these reasons, and either on account of the moroseness of Yaco, or of his sordid disposition, we are not visited by any one when we are in the country. I alone am condemned to suffer the wearisomeness of solitude, because my husband knows the direction he is to take when any diversion is on foot. He never loses a meeting at Miraflores, at la Magdalena, or at Surco*, and there he plays like a madman. When he loses, which happens very frequently, he returns to his house, and inveighs vehemently against the expences I incur in dressing the children and domestics. On the last Sunday of the past month he

* The favourite resorts of gamesters.

lost fifty-two ounces of silver ; and then treated me as a prodigal and extravagant hussey, because he saw a waxen taper burning in the candlestick, complaining that in this, and in various other ways, I ruined the family.

Neither can I, nor my children, venture into the entry, or court-yard, because he keeps them filled with game-cocks, sometimes tied up, and at other times loose, which he rears with a care greater than that he bestows on the education of the children. He is present at all the cock-fights the amphitheatre affords : he says he has no other vice than this one, and that he cannot correct himself. Two months ago he betted three hundred piastres on a cock of his own breeding, sprung from a good race, which he named the *Great Captain* : his cock was killed, and he lost his money. His choler and imprecations were vented on me, without my having any other fault than that of being the wife of a lout.

He is at this time engaged in a law-suit, in consequence of a legacy, for a part of the stream which runs through the grounds : all that is essential in this affair is not worth three snails ; but YACO is very anxious about it, and says, that in this consists the point of honour. He wastes the whole of the morning in the gallery of the royal audience, and knows by heart all the causes that are tried before that venerable tribunal, with their origin and consequences. What disgusts me most, is to see the lively interest he takes in the public elections of the university, and of the consulate, without being either a doctor, or a merchant. On those days he runs, sweats, and overturns all that he meets, without any other object in view, than that of giving himself the airs of one concerned in what is going on. There is not a raffle of horses, buckles, watches, &c.
which

which he does not attend ; and at the same time he dins the house with his cries, if I venture half a real in the lottery. From morning till night he has the cigarre in his mouth, and a pinch of snuff in his fingers ; insomuch that his lips and nostrils are constantly begrimed ; and, notwithstanding, he dares to tax me with being guilty of a scandalous indecency, when he sees me with a few jasmines on the head, or a small bunch of mixed flowers in the bosom.

He has given into the *mania* of wishing to see me dressed according to his ridiculous taste. A bright yellow, a deep flesh colour, and a pea green, are his favourite colours, and he is desirous that I should not depart from them in the choice of my *faldellins*. He says that it affords him great delight when he sees me with a Turkey-blue petticoat. Permit me to ask you, gentlemen, what a husband can have to do with the colour of his wife's dress ? Ought it not to suffice that we are clad modestly, and with economy ? The carriage-mules are not paired ; the calash creaks like an overloaded cart ; and the coachman has a splendid livery, but occasionally goes bare-foot. The fore-court is unpaved ; the parlour stools are crazy and falling in pieces ; and whenever I touch on the reform of these absurdities, he assails me with a thousand impertinences, calling me a prodigal and an ideot ; and concludes with this threat : “ go to ; I will have thee published in the *Mercury*.”

I should never have done, if I were to enter into a detailed explanation of all the simplicities of my husband, without speaking of the suspicions he has given me ; for I am told he has purchased several articles of old furniture, nearly sufficient to furnish a small house. I am surprized that you, gentle-

men, who are so sharp sighted in discovering the little defects of the women, should have passed over in silence those of the men, all of which are comprized in the person of this Yaco, with whom, I assure you, I am already seriously disgusted.

As a companion to the subject of *Plate XI.* a male inhabitant of Lima, of the same condition with the female there represented, is introduced in *Plate XII.*

THE PERUVIAN PETIT MAITRE.

The following sketch, in which this subject is facetiously handled, is supposed to be addressed by a person who has made an excursion to Lima, to his friend in the country.

Beloved Leander ! I cannot refrain from admiring the promptitude with which you require of me information relative to the customs of the inhabitants of this capital, although, if you abstract the time employed on my journey, you can scarcely consider me as having resided here twenty days ;—a very limited time for such a task. You, who made this your residence for several years, must be well acquainted with these customs ; and I therefore think that your request is merely an attempt to know how I practise your lessons. Be this as it may, I shall endeavour to comply with it.

Among the rare and agreeable objects which present themselves here at every step, the greatest impression has been made on me by a description of men who appear to be oppressed by the dignity of their sex ; inasmuch as they endeavour to belie nature in a scandalous and ridiculous manner. What would

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Male inhabitant of Lima of the middle class of society.

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our fellow-citizens say, if they were to see a being of this class strive to imitate the women in every particular? The air of the body, the garb, the steps, the actions, even to the smallest movements, every thing announces in them a contemptible and extravagant effeminacy. The pains they take to counterfeit feminine casualties are excessive. I know not whether the sight of one of these creatures would most move your indignation or your laughter. The wool* with which, instead of hair, Nature has provided them, the one half being brought into the finest tresses, is united in a knot, in such a way as that the extremity forms a frizzled ball. Several small curls, nicely disposed, fall on each side of the forehead, without there being any deficiency of patches on the temples. The open sleeves and deep ruffles, which leave the arm in a manner bare; the tread on the point of the toe; the care taken that the dress should swell out as much as possible behind; all these, and a thousand other little peculiarities, are employed by them, as they dare not renounce altogether in public the male attire, to modify it to such a degree, as that the most careless observer sees a man arrayed in the dress of both sexes. Thus it is that they present themselves in this extravagant array: one of the hands placed in the girdle; the other muffled up in the mantle, with a feminine air; the head erect, and, like a little mill, in constant motion, sometimes reclined on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other. They measure their steps as if with a compass, and make a thousand ridicu-

* This depravity appears to be most common, in Peru, to the blacks, and people of colour; or, perhaps, the writer found it necessary to give this turn to his satire, to avoid offence to the higher classes.

lous motions of the body, directing the view to every side with an affected languor, and with such gestures as would excite laughter in spleen itself. They speak like a treble, addressing and treating each other as if they were nymphs. But my pen, unaccustomed to such descriptions, whatever pains it might take, would no doubt leave the portraiture imperfect. The celebrated adventure which befel me a few days ago, will shew that the copy resembles the original.

My imagination being wholly occupied by what I had witnessed, I could not do less, when I saw my host, than acquaint him how much I had been surprized at this rare phenomenon. He, who was very familiar with this description of beings, replied to me carelessly, that these defects, as they were not carried to an excess, were little deserving of my notice ; but that if I wished to be amused, and to form a competent idea of the mode of thinking of these singular men, he would take me that evening to a ball which was to be given, to celebrate the birth-day of one of the parties. I gladly accepted his offer, and as soon as the appointed time was arrived, we repaired to the house of festivity. The entrance had fallen into decay through the lapse of time. Having passed the court-yard, we came to a hall which had not any other covering than the sky, nor any other furniture beside the mouldy walls. We next proceeded to the parlour, which was regularly ornamented, and lighted with several tapers. At one of the sides I perceived a buffet covered with vessels of silver ; but that which engaged all my attention, was a long bench, on which were seated a great number of negro and mulatto women, arrayed in the richest apparel. I could not help admiring this change of conditions, on seeing, in the guise of seignoras, those who in
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our country are slaves. My wonder was augmented, however, when several of these females, stationed the nearest to us, said to each other reciprocally : “ See there, the judge’s lady ; the countess of —, the marchioness of —, donna Fulanita de —, ” &c. naming in this manner all the principal titles of the ladies who inhabit the capital. I could no longer contain myself, and was at a loss to ascertain whether what was passing was an illusion or a reality. My host, who had been highly diverted by my astonishment, said to me : “ Certainly, friend, you have never seen the like. What think you of such a countess, of such a marchioness, and of such a signora, with a beard more copious than that of the animal with pointed horns, the lascivious spouse of the she-goat ? ” Imagining that what he said to me was in jest, I drew out my glass, and directed it to the swarthy visages of these ladies ; when, lo ! how great was my surprize ! I saw them covered with beards still more bushy than that of the unfortunate countess Trifaldi. At this time several other personages, equipped in a similar manner, entered the apartment. In rising from the bench to receive them, the company displayed feet* as large as those of Polyphemus, but well made. “ What is this ? ” said I to my host : “ Is there in this country such a class of women ? ” He, observing my simplicity, and want of apprehension, bit his lips, and could with difficulty refrain from laughter. At length, recovering his gravity, he said to me : “ These are of the number of those whose graces and fine airs you recounted to me this morning. Here they are not

* The Peruvian ladies value themselves exceedingly on the smallness of their feet, and on this account are accustomed from their infancy to wear tight shoes.

under any apprehension ; and accordingly they are decked out with all the ornaments and embellishments of the fair sex. The ridiculous creatures you see on the other side, as they come from a distance, are content with having the head decorated with jasmines and a party-colour hood, without divesting themselves of the other parts of their male attire." He had scarcely concluded this explanation, when the alcaid and his attendants arrived, and barred the outlets with all possible diligence. Having formed a string of countesses, marchionesses, and señoras, and appropriated to themselves the refreshments that had been prepared, they led them to the jail, where their heads were shaven, with a view to cool them, at the same time that the corroborative of a good bastinado was applied to the shoulders.

Such a punishment was worthy of so monstrous an insanity. But can any motives be assigned to exculpate this failing? Plato was of opinion, that at the beginning of the world all mankind were *androgyni* ; but that they having insulted him, Jupiter divided them into two halves, man and woman ; on which account the propensity of one sex for the other is so extremely natural. May it not likewise be said, that in many men there still remain certain relics of the other sex, which naturally manifest themselves? Both consequences have the same solidity and force as the arbitrary system of Plato : it is certain that weak heads alone, inflated with wind, can give into the *mania* of appearing that which they are not ;—a *mania* which is of such antiquity, that in the time of Augustus, these counterfeit hermaphrodites were met with at Rome. Horace represents to us the youth Nearchus, with the hair flowing gracefully on the shoulders, and perfumed with the most exquisite

quisite scents. He also speaks of Ligurinus, proud of the beauty of his countenance.

I see plainly, dear Leander, that these sketches provoke your laughter and your indignation at the same time : but I think that my ready compliance with your wishes, will give a new energy to our correspondence, and shew the warmth of the affection of your

FILALETES.

The above specimens of Peruvian literature, given under the head of Customs and Manners, may be considered as so many views of society in that country. It only remains to add to them a sketch of domestic economy, as it refers to the education of children. This production bears the signature of EUSTACHIO PHYLOMATHES, and sets out as follows :

Six years ago I was united in wedlock, in this capital, to TEOPISTE, a beautiful and virtuous female, but possessed of the prejudices of her sex. Heaven has bestowed on me three girls and a boy. The sight of them, and their company, constitute the whole of my felicity ; and their education is the object of all my solicitude. At the beginning of the last year, I was obliged to undertake a journey to Cuzco ;—a sacrifice which was required by the state of my affairs, and the narrowness of my fortune. During six months I was separated from my wife and my children. It is necessary to be a good husband, and a good father, to be enabled to appreciate the value of these precious names. God alone knows what my heart suffered during so long an absence !

My pursuits at length enabled me to reach this territory.

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On my way back I thought I should die with gladness, when, from the eminences which surround this capital, I first discerned the towers of its temples. I proceeded to my house: the embraces of my family, and the tears of an unfeigned tenderness, were the congratulations we mutually bestowed on each other. The confusion attendant on this joyous emotion prevented me from noticing the innocent expressions of my children.

As soon as the first tumult of the affections was calmed, I perceived that all these little creatures treated me with *thou**. I was surprized, and demanded of *TEOPISTE* whence sprang this novelty, so opposite to the principles of education I had laid down before my journey. She replied, coolly, that my children had remained in the house of *DEMOCRACIA*, her mother, during my absence; and that they had there been taught that which was common among all the classes of the inhabitants. My surprize was augmented: I asked several of my friends whether this was positively the custom in Lima; and had the mortification to receive the assurance, that the greater part of the mothers, aunts, and grandmothers, not only followed this low practice of allowing themselves to be addressed in the singular number by the infants who surrounded them, but likewise gave it their encouragement and support.

I have not sufficient words to express the admiration, or, I should rather say, the indignation, I felt on hearing this.

* Among the Spaniards, as well as French, the familiar language of *thee* and *thou*, is employed by equals united by close ties, in addressing each other, or by the superior in accosting the inferior.

The days on which my step-mother, or sisters-in-law, come to see the children, are to me days of torment. Yesterday I was exposed to a rude attack of the following nature : one of my female cousins came to the house, in consequence of DEMOCRACIA, and her adherents, being there on a visit : my youngest daughter, CLARISSA, ran to embrace her, exclaiming : “ wilt thou give me a sweetmeat, a little present ! ” I could dissemble no longer, but, calling to me the little girl, asked her somewhat sharply, whether she had forgotten the mode of making a request which I had taught her ? I had scarcely concluded when DEMOCRACIA, darting at me a fierce glance, and snatching the child from my arms, said to me in a tone of malediction : “ it is well known that you do not love your children, and that you are rather their tyrant than their father. You who undertake to teach others good breeding, ought first to know that it argues great audacity to seek to correct a general custom ; and that, were this not even the case, it is my will and pleasure.”

How much I was irritated by this mode of procedure may be readily concluded ; but, not to disturb the tranquillity of the neighbourhood, I forbore to speak in reply, and withdrew. I unburthen myself to you, gentlemen, and entreat you to demand, in my name, of all the mothers who think with DEMOCRACIA, what idea they entertain of filial respect, and paternal superiority ? If the idiom of our language has confidential and familiar expressions differing from those of reverence, why should they be confounded ? Why should we accustom children to hold the same language to their mother as to the female slave who attends them, and not to distinguish their father from the coachman ? And, lastly, why should a

condescension which is so contrary to subordination, and even to the sound policy of nations, be considered as the effect of paternal love ?

In continuation :

When I was at Cuzco, my daughter CLARISSA was still at the breast. Her nurse is a creolian negress, named MARIA, who was purchased for that end. She appeared to be the picture of humility when she entered the house. She watched over the little one with an almost maternal love ; was never absent from the nursery ; and had no other will than that of her mistress. With this propitious commencement I departed to prosecute my business, and flattered myself that on my return I should find things in the same posture. But how erroneous were my expectations !

One of the particulars which began to disgust me in MARIA, was, that she not only addressed CLARISSA in the familiar language of *thee* and *thou*, but that the latter called her *my mamma*, and slept, eat, and played with her, in preference to her young sisters, and even to her mother. I am aware that it is the same with almost all the wet-nurses ; but it is not on that account less true, that this usage instils much vulgarity into the mode of thinking of the infants, and contributes still more to render the nurses haughty and overbearing. In reality, MARIA is the person who commands in the house : all the servants pay her a marked homage, and are more obedient to her, than to my wife, or myself. Her will is a law ; and if, perchance, I chide her for a fault, I am confounded by the clamours of my aforesaid step-mother DEMOCRACIA, of TEOPISTE, and of all the parentage.

Now that the child is somewhat advanced in growth, and
should

should no longer be under the tutelage of the negress, the very reverse happens. MARIA looks to the little girl, and conducts her to the kitchen, to the wash-house, to the street, to the flesh-market, and I know not whither. If my impatience tempts me to rebuke her on this subject, I am sure to be the sufferer. Sometimes I endeavour very seriously to persuade TEOPISTE, that this want of restraint on the part of the nurses is apt to be fatal to the innocence of the children; that the latter, mixing exclusively with persons of that cast, familiarize themselves with their coarse manners, and learn and adopt all the vulgarities which are practised among slaves: and that a prudent and respectable mother ought not to encourage, either by her counsels, or by her practical example, the indecent dances which they teach the little girls; but should prohibit them with all possible rigour. TEOPISTE listens to my discourse with much serenity, and then observes: "*such is the practice.*"

What I am about to relate is still more pleasant. Some days ago a patrol lodged in the jail a negro, named JOHN, who had been surprized in the act of gaming at an unseasonable hour of the night. MARIA came to me to request of me to see the judge before whom the cause of the imprisonment of the negro was to be tried, to the end that he might be more readily liberated. It struck me that it would be somewhat indecent to appear as the patron of a nocturnal gambler; but I went notwithstanding. I learned that the said JOHN, besides being addicted to the above vice, was an accomplished thief, a picaroon connected with all the assassins who infest the environs of this capital. On procuring

this information, I forbore to say a single word to the judge, and entered into the necessary explanation with MARIA. She burst into a flood of tears, observing that the prisoner was first cousin to the sister-in-law of one of her female companions, and that I ought to set about in good earnest to deliver him from his confinement. TEOPISTE, who saw the negress weep, grew angry, remarking that it behoved me to take an interest in the affair; and that it was sufficient I had been requested to do so by the female who had reared my child.

To my misfortune, DEMOCRACIA entered at the moment. Without wishing me a good day, and without any preface, she called me a brute and an ungrateful monster, telling me that I was not justified in giving displeasure to a wet-nurse; that I ought to consider her as a second mother; that persons of the highest dignity pledged themselves, and moved heaven and earth, to oblige not only their servants, but those whom they had taken under their protection; and that if I was not capable of undertaking this good office for MARIA, and of procuring the deliverance of the negro recommended by her, she would go in person, and would take care to be accompanied by my wife, and by CLARISSA herself. This unfortunate child, stunned by the clamours of her grandmother, and by the lamentations of her nurse, wept bitterly; and all the little ones did the like.

I was so much confounded by this scene, that I had not a word to offer in reply: my head became giddy, and I was agitated beyond measure. To avoid sensations of a still more
powerful



Female Domestic of Lima of the Class of Quarterons.

powerful nature, I came to the resolution to mount my horse, and to set out for my country seat at Miraflores, where I can now breathe in peace, and unburthen myself to you, gentlemen, in alleviation of my sufferings.

A favourite female domestic of colour, of the cast of quarterons, is represented in *Plate XIII*.

PART VI.

INDIAN AND OTHER INHABITANTS OF PERU.

ESSAY ON THE FALSE RELIGION, AND SUPERSTITIOUS CUSTOMS, OF THE PERUVIAN INDIANS.

TO be acquainted with the Supreme Being, man does not need the instruction of a master, but has within himself a light emanating from the divinity, which fails not to point out to him his maker. On this account, nations have at all times agreed, that there is a deity, the artificer of the world, by whom it is governed and preserved. Nature herself affords the strongest evidences of his existence and power. The celestial vault, adorned with luminous stars which usurp the empire of night; the sun, the sovereign ruler of years and days; the plains covered with flowers and golden harvests; the quadrupeds which tread the earth; the birds which skim the diaphanous region of the air; and the fishes which inhabit the liquid element of the waters; magnify the glory of the Eternal, displaying the magnificence and skill of his hand. Man alone, departing from the paths of light, follows the obscurity of his aberrations, substituting impiety for religion, and ascribing to the creatures the worship which is required by his Lord.

The insolent Ham, loaded with the maledictions of his father, and not having been instructed by him in the worship which

which he owed to his Creator, drew down ignorance on his posterity, and established idolatry. Thence originated the chimerical traditions which led man by degrees to the greatest absurdities. In this deplorable state every thing is God : even that which is most vile receives the adorations that are solely due to him. Some offer up their incenses to the crocodile ; others, possessed by a religious terror, prostrate themselves before the voracious ibis, which feeds on serpents ; others erect golden statues to the ape ; and others, again, worship the dog, and the fishes of the seas and rivers, dreading least they should profane the leek and the onion which grow in their gardens, if, peradventure, they should be made to constitute a part of their food.

The infatuations of the inhabitants of Peru were similar to these extravagancies, when Manco-Capac, the founder of the Peruvian empire, replete with cunning and ambition, supposed himself the offspring and envoy of the sun, sent to establish his worship, and to govern all nations in his name. The brilliancy of this luminary, the stupidity which prevailed among the Peruvians, and the fabulous relations contrived by that adventurer, laid the foundation of a new religion, and of the monarchy of the Yncas. As the latter gloried in deriving their origin from the above planet, they were very anxious to give proofs of the zeal with which they fulfilled the wishes of their progenitor, and of the profound veneration in which they held him. They erected to him, in the capital of their empire, a sumptuous temple, on which they bestowed a profusion of gold and silver, adorning it with magnificent statues of animals of every description. The sun did not shine on his altar solely beneath the figure by which he is usually represented,

sented, but likewise in the idols ; *Apuinii*, the sun, the father and lord ; *Churi Inti*, the son of the sun ; *Imic Vauqui*, the brother of the sun ; and *Tarigatanga** ; all of which received the highest homage and adoration.

Virgins, to whom they gave the name of *Acllacunas*, were dedicated to his service, and lived perpetually in the cloisters of his temple†, to watch over his altars ;—a prerogative which rendered them highly venerable, insomuch that an affront offered to them was deemed a sacrilege. The Ynca, and the *Cucipatas*, or priests of the sun, alone were allowed to approach the altars of this divinity, but not without giving tokens of the greatest respect, by their genuflections and silence. It was thus that they presented themselves during the *raymi*, one of their most solemn festivals, celebrated with dances and songs in the month of December.

The monarchs of this empire, zealous in the worship of their father, followed, in their conquests, maxims very different from those of ancient Rome. That republic, when at the summit of its power, had no sooner received its triumphant generals, crowned with martial laurels, than it placed in the Capitol the gods of the vanquished countries, to the end that they might partake of the victims it offered up to its deities. But the former, at the same time that they ex-

* One in three, and three in one. Several authors, by whom we are told that the apostle St. Thomas came to these regions, say that he resided at Cuzco, where he preached the gospel, and taught the great and incomprehensible mystery of the Trinity ; but that, in the progress of time, and through the extreme ignorance of the Indians, this tradition was changed, and superstitiously accommodated, by the Yncas, to the sun.

† They remained there until they were married.

tended their dominions, augmented the number of the adorers of the sun : and if they deposited in their temple the idols of the subjugated provinces, it was not to bestow on them the adoration of which they had deprived them, but to keep them as hostages, or pledges of the fidelity of their new vassals*.

Whatever might have been the interest which the Yncas had, in promoting a worship so useful and profitable to themselves, since their diadem was secured to them by the sacred bonds of religion†; and whatever the scrupulous care with which they endeavoured to maintain that worship; one of them, observing the planet of day to revolve perpetually, was constrained to acknowledge, that this continued agitation was peculiar to a creature, and clearly indicated that the planet itself was dependent on a Supreme Cause by which it was entirely governed. Inspired by these sublime ideas, which were manifested to his unshackled reason, he confessed the omnipotence of that Cause, bestowing on it the attribute of *Pachacamac*‡.

Amid the thick gloom of paganism, that celestial light which illumines mortals at their birth§, could not shine with greater lustre. But as, notwithstanding a Socrates may from

* Notwithstanding this general custom, the Ynca Huayna consulted the idol *Rimac*, or the Speaker, from whose name, corrupted by time, that of Lima is derived.

† The Indians being persuaded that the Yncas were the immediate descendants of the sun, regarded them as gods; insomuch, that the smallest offence which could be offered them, was construed into a most sacrilegious outrage.

‡ The Omnipotent, to whom a temple was erected in the valley of Lurin.

§ That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.—*St. John*, chap. i. v. 9.

time to time appear, among the nations prone to error, and enslaved by their caprices, they shut their ears against the truth, and cover their eyes that they may not see its fascinating splendour ; so the superstitious worship which the Peruvians paid to a creature, did not suffer any abatement.

If, however, we pay attention to the beauty and beneficial influence of that planet, we may find certain reasons which render this error in some measure excusable ; since, in diffusing its light over the earth, it gladdens the spirits ; invigorates and vivifies bodies ; produces flowers grateful to the eye and smell ; covers the meadows with salutary herbs ; ripens the swelling blades of Ceres ; and matures the fruits of Pomona. But the gratification which arises from these reflections, is denied to those who place their hope in inanimate images ; who regard as deities the artificial works of man ; who worship statues of gold and silver ; and who adore the effigies of animals, and the useless stone wrought by an unskilful hand.

Such were the objects of the veneration of the bulk of the people. Not content with adoring the god of their conquerors, they undertook to find a deity in every situation, under every necessity, and for every ministry. From each direction they bent their steps to the *huacas*, or pagan temples, where they sacrificed to their idols, making libations of *chicha**, offering up *cuyes*† and *coca*‡, and exhaling in vapours,* or consuming in the fire, the aromatics they presented to them. Conceiving

* The fermented liquor of maize.

† Wild rabbits.

‡ A nutritive and invigorating herb, similar to the betel of the East Indies, and applied to the same purposes.

that

that their life, health, and prosperity, as well as the fertility of their grounds, depended on these idols, they recommended to them, in their prayers, themselves, and all that they possessed.

Not satisfied, however, with such protectors, they contrived *lares*, or household gods, who had the particular charge of their families. These were considered as the proprietors of the habitations; and their ministry was implied by the names of *conopas*, or *guasícamayoc**, which were bestowed on them. Their plantations, which they regarded as a considerable part of their property, were not destitute of a divinity who was to provide for their fertility, and for the abundance of the crops. The *compas*† were charged to contribute all the water requisite to the irrigation of their cultivated lands. It was the province of the *mamateras*‡ to multiply the maize, and to prepare copious stores of grains. On the *huanacas*§, as the peculiar lords of such a portion of territory, it was incumbent to alleviate the labours of the cultivators.

Soliciting on every occasion the aid of the Divinity, they sought to divide that which is indivisible, and to communicate His essence to vile creatures deprived of every sensation, and incapable of themselves to produce the smallest effects. This error prepared them for still greater ones, and led them to disturb the manes of their forefathers. The sanctuary of the

* Lords of the house.

† Stones, of which they required water.

‡ Long cylindrical stones, of which abundant crops of maize were demanded.

§ Large stones erected in their plantations, and regarded by the Indians as their tutelar deities.

sepulchre was profaned through a principle of religion ; and the *malquis* *, elevated to the rank of gods, received in the plains the sacrifices of the living.

All their errors having been covered by the veil of piety, they were insensible to this strange alienation of the mind, and were persuaded of the assistance of a particular deity, in the rocks, in the elevated grounds, in the vallies, in the streams, springs, and rivers, and in all the places inhabited by men or wild beasts ; insomuch, that they did not proceed a step without invoking the names of the divinities their imagination had created, and tendering to them an offering. By these ridiculous and degrading superstitions they were fascinated ; and as religion has a powerful influence on the customs, their spirit, occupied by ideas of so chimerical a nature, unnecessarily invented rites, and multiplied presages. When, for the first time, they cut off the hair of their male offspring, they were at infinite pains to celebrate the act. Imagining it to be the dawn of their felicity, they assembled their relatives and friends, and solemnized the festival with every demonstration of joy, presenting to the *shorn* youths, gold, silver, and other gifts. The same practice was followed by the mothers, when their daughters attained the age of puberty. With an eager desire for their welfare, they strove, by certain charms and incantations, to provide for their future felicity.

The sick hastened to bathe in the pools and rivers, practising an infinite number of extravagant ceremonies, and dis-

* Dead bodies.

charging their saliva on the *ychu**. They were persuaded that by these acts their pains would be mitigated or dispelled.

If there was an eclipse either of the sun or moon, they fancied that these luminaries, being pursued by powerful enemies, were fatigued, and were in need of succour. On these occasions, they began to weep, and to utter the most lamentable shouts and cries, imagining, with all simplicity, that their echoes would reach the sphere, and would disconcert the enemy, so as to oblige him to desist from his enterprise.

They considered the sparks which fire is wont to emit, as evident tokens of its wrath; to appease which, and to shun the mischiefs its severity might otherwise occasion to them, they offered up to it maize and *chicha*. The cooing of the turtle-dove, and the plaintive notes of other birds, were to them the most sinister prognostics. Either their own death was near at hand, or that of their neighbours, or that of those at whose abode these ominous birds appeared. Anxious to shift from themselves the calamity by which they were threatened, they made offerings to them, beseeching them to leave them free, and to discharge all their fury on their enemies.

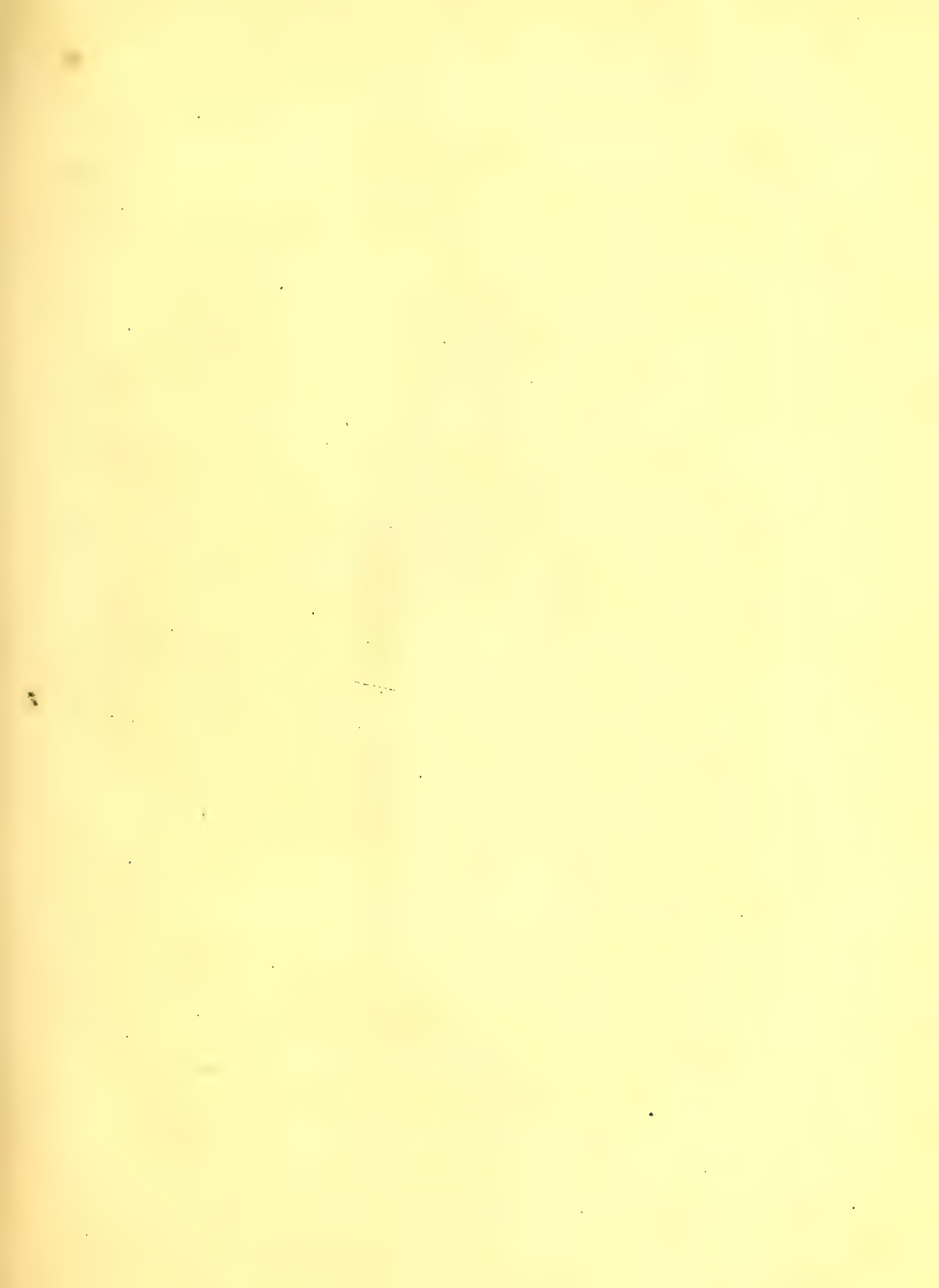
Stimulated by a vain curiosity, and desirous to penetrate into the future, they had recourse to impostures, and to magic charms. The *Camascas* and *Achicamayos* were their oracles. These individuals pretended to obtain a knowledge of that which was most hidden and obscure, by laying the juice of the

* A kind of reed.

coca plant, blended with saliva, on the palm of the hand, and allowing it to glide by the thumb and fore-finger. All their skill consisted in observing the manner in which this liquor flowed ; and the issue was decided by the form it assumed. They regarded themselves as the sovereign disposers of the awards of Nature, and presumed that they were able to distribute good and evil, pains and disasters, health and fortune.

To such absurd extravagancies the idea of the Divinity, when disfigured and corrupted, is sure to lead. Man, proud of his own intelligence, seeks the truth, but finds it not. He pursues the idle flights of his fancy, embraces shadows, and is the slave of his caprices. God alone comprehends His works, and derides the vain efforts of men. From the eminence on which His august throne is established, he contemplates their idle imaginations ; and knows both the false ideas which mortals form of their Creator, and the futile opinions they erect into dogmas by which they are involved in endless disputes. He alone can kindle that celestial light, in a manner extinguished, by the aid of which man presumes that he can acquire the genuine and true notion of the Supreme Being. He alone can display Himself, and bestow on His creatures the intelligence they need, immersed as they are in darkness and error.

To accomplish this aim, His immense wisdom prepared the fittest means. It discovered to Europe this valuable part of the globe, and transferred its dominion, by the right of conquest, to Spain. Instantly the sonorous voice of her apostolic ministers was heard on every side, and the law of christianity was promulgated. The clash of arms counteracted the first impressions :





Virgin of the Sun.

pressions : the Peruvian even doubted of the soundness of a law which was occasionally profaned by those who gloried in professing it, and who fancied themselves inspired by it in all their enterprizes. The Peruvian gave to the God of clemency the worship to which he was bound by his chains, but preserved at the same time an affection for his ancient idols. He concealed them beneath the most sacred representations of the Catholic religion, to direct his prayers to them, while the Spaniard thought that the efficacy of these prayers would ensure him a ready access to heaven. Happily those times of calamity and bloodshed ceased ; and, peace being restored to this highly-favoured soil, the respectable prelates, the fathers of the Peruvian church*, were seen to direct their steps on every side, not like the thunderbolt which carries terror in its train, but like the lovely light of the morning, dissipating the dark shades of ignorance, instilling confidence into every breast, and presenting the august spirit of religion beneath the semblance of the charity which constitutes its essence.

Plate XIV. introduces to the notice of the reader a virgin, or priestess, of the sun. However the modern Indians of Peru may have been obliged, by their conquerors, to abandon the rites of the idolatrous worship of their ancestors, they have not failed to perpetuate, by succeeding generations, the remembrance of their ancient forms and ceremonies. The cos-

* The archbishops of Lima, Geronimo De Loyasa, Bartolome De Guerrero, and Santo Torribio, employed their utmost zeal, authority, and intelligence, in extinguishing idolatry. The latter, more especially, in his second and third provincial councils, published the most salutary means to that effect. See the details relative to these councils, page 156.

tume of the pleasing subject of this engraving, taken from the representation, on canvas, of a modern Indian festival, may be deemed correct, if an analogical reasoning can be founded on the care the Indians have taken, in various other particulars, to hand down the customs and usages of their nation.

ACCOUNT OF THE COSTUMES, SUPERSTITIONS, AND EXERCISES, OF THE
INDIANS OF THE PAMPA DEL SACRAMENTO, AND ANDES MOUNTAINS
OF PERU.

OF the three classes of men who exist in the universe, destined to invent fables, and to obtrude them on the credulity of their fellow-creatures, it is uncertain which has been the boldest and most fertile in inventing them, or the most successful in inducing their belief. They have all of them inundated the earth with visions, and have alike gained over proselytes. These are, the poets, the philosophers, and the travellers. The first insinuate falsehood even into the heavens, and cause it to be adored by stupid mortals: the second dispose tyrannically of Nature and her magnificent works, and draw into their lures the republic of the learned: the third feign marvels at their will, and impress with a belief of them, both the monarch and the minister of state.

With the conquest of the Americas, such a swarm of the latter description was raised in the western continent, that if all the empires and opulent cities of which they dreamed had been real, the planet of the earth would not have contained them, and it would have been necessary to place a part of them in that of the moon. In those times, Manoa was the
first

first and most celebrated city. It was conjectured to be the capital of the empire of Dorado, so called, because gold not only glittered in the temples, palaces, and gardens, as in Peru, but likewise, according to report, in every part of its vast territory, insomuch, that the banks and profound depth of the lakes, nay, the groves even, were covered with that precious metal. One of its discoverers, who was enabled, by the dispersion of the advanced bodies of troops stationed to defend the frontiers, to reach a point whence he descried the above-mentioned capital, reported that its walls were crowned with statues and turrets of the finest gold, which was infinitely more flattering to the view, than were the gardens with which Semiramis adorned the walls of Babylon, and even than the Elysium of the poets. So grateful a piece of intelligence, to which the spoils of Atahualpa and Montezuma attached some degree of credit, made a rapid progress from America to the north of Europe. While the Pizarros, in Peru, Ordaz, in Quito, and Quezada, in the new kingdom, made preparations for its conquest; and while the court of Madrid glowed with pretensions founded on a priority of claim, and fitted ships in the ports of Spain, the active English, and other powers, opened their coffers, and redoubled their efforts, with a view to be the foremost to seize on the prize. But this prize, like the enchanted palaces of fairy tales, fled from province to province, mocking those by whom it was pursued. The imagination, and the eyes, view objects in a different manner. To the latter they diminish with the distance, and augment in proportion as they are approached: but to the former, on the other hand, they enlarge in the ratio of the space by which they are separated, and decrease in the same manner

by the proximity, until they entirely disappear. Thus it happened to Raleigh, and to all those who engaged in the conquest of Dorado*.

Far happier would have been the lot of Don Francisco Bohorquez, had his reveries been realized. In the year 1635 he discovered Enim, reached its confines, and ordered his arrival to be announced to the monarch. His lofty stature, his valour, his fine personal qualities, and his discretion, procured him an access to the capital. Its plan, its superb pillars, the order and disposition of its palaces and squares, and the refined policy of its inhabitants, would have terrified any other than Bohorquez. He was, notwithstanding, overpowered by surprise at the sight of the imperial alcazar, or castle. It was built on a multitude of columns of porphyry and alabaster, and had its flooring skirted by a spacious gallery, at the extremities of which the cedar and the ebon were sculptured in a

* It is extraordinary that father Gumilla, in his work entitled "*Orinoco ilustrado*," published in the middle of the eighteenth century, should have maintained the existence of this fabulous kingdom. Had he taken the trouble to consult his brethren, the missionaries of Maynas, he would not have confounded the names of Manoa, city of the lake, Omaguas, and Enaguas. It is equally surprizing that M. De La Condamine should have lost his time in endeavouring to find a site in which to place the city of Dorado, and the lake of Parima; and should at length have fixed on the Mahari, and the banks of the Yupara. The true lake of Parima, is the lake of the great Cocamas. Manoa was in those times the general and comprehensive name of the tribes of Panos, Cocamas, Maynas, &c. which were very numerous; and Enaguas, or Omaguas, is the province of that name, having for its capital San Joaquin. The lakes of gold are the sands, stored with that metal, swept along by the rivers which flow from the Cordillera into the Maranon and its branches, as well as into the Orinoko. The cities, statues, plates of gold employed as tiles, &c. are the inventions of ambition, and of a propensity for the marvellous.

thousand forms. The majesty of the portico could not be described, unless by saying that Nature and Art had challenged each other at that spot, to vie in the production of its beauties. The staircases and entrances were most sumptuous. In all the inner apartments the energy of the pencil was displayed on jasper, in portraying the august heroes, the lords of this favoured region. The floors were covered with the richest carpets of feathers, and the air perfumed with the most fragrant aromatics. Our adventurer having been ushered into the royal cabinet, found the sovereign reclined on a throne of ivory, and surrounded by his principal courtiers, who occupied various estrades of gold, superior to that of Arabia.

He was received with every token of humanity, and placed next to the throne. The ceremonials, festivals, and tournaments by which the monarch, in exhibiting his own magnificence, endeavoured to afford him pleasure, were essentials which required, for their description, the pen of Homer, or of Virgil, or, rather, that of Miguel Cervantes Saavedra. The diversions being concluded, and he being desirous to set out on his return, the eldest daughter of the king, into whose bosom the god Cupid had introduced the violent flame of love, enveloped in the graceful form of the stranger, made a tender to him of her person. But our Bohorquez, in whom the madness of Don Quixote must have been blended with the address of Cacus, chose rather to be the depredator, than the peaceful possessor of the new empire. After having beguiled Peru with his fabulous Enim, he entered that territory, accompanied by thirty-six Spaniards, in the year 1643, to achieve its conquest; but was guilty of so many piracies, not only among the barbarians, but likewise in Jauxa and Tarma,

that the viceroy was under the necessity of sending a detachment of troops to apprehend him. This having been successfully accomplished, he was banished to Valdivia, with another individual, named Villa-Nueva, his captain-general. Don Antonio, and Don Benito Quiroga, inhabitants of la Paz, were not more successful in the conquest of Gran Paititi, in their endeavours to accomplish which they consumed a very flourishing capital, and were left in an impoverished state. This reward was justly due to an insatiable ambition.

Time has slowly dissipated these chimeras, which have been in one respect useful, inasmuch as they have stimulated certain missionaries to explore the mountains. From their relations we can collect, that throughout the whole extent of them, in Manoa, and in the immense plains which separate them from the cordillera of Brasil, there are not any other treasures, beside those that will be pointed out in illustrating the peregrinations of fathers Sobreviela and Girbal* ; nor any greater degree of civilization and policy than that which is exhibited in the account we now proceed to give, of the costumes, superstitions, and exercises of the barbarians who inhabit them.

They live dispersed in the forests and woods, and are collected, under the direction of one or two caciques, into small tribes, each of which considers itself as a distinct nation, and even hostile to the others. They are usually tall, robust, and well made, it being the invariable custom, whenever any male

* These travels, which were undertaken in 1790, the year preceding that of the publication of the Peruvian Mercury, will, with other interesting details, relative to the tribes of uncivilized Indians, be given in an appendix.

child is born, with the limbs distorted, or with any remarkable defect, instantly to deprive the infant of life, as an inauspicious birth. Their complexion is fairer than that of the Peruvians, and some of them, the Conivos, for instance, would even vie in that respect with the Europeans, if the erratic life of the mountains, the unguents, and the punctures of the sand-flies and mosquitoes, did not give them a swarthy hue. All their attention is bestowed on preserving a firm texture of the body, and on flattening the forehead and hinder part of the head, with a view of resembling, as they say, the full moon, and of becoming the strongest and most valiant people in the world. To attain the former of these aims, they bind the waist, and all the joints, of their male offspring, from their tender infancy, with hempen bands. With a view to the latter, they wrap the forehead in cotton, and lay on it a small square board, applying another similar board to the occiput, and adjusting them with cords until the intention has been answered. Thus the head is elongated above, and flattened both before and behind. This practice cannot fail to alter the functions of the brain; and, accordingly, the reproach of stupidity is attached to the bonzes, or Japanese priests, at whose birth the head is compressed, until it acquires the shape of a sugar-loaf, to the end that it may serve as an altar on which the minister may kindle the sacred fire, as a token of their being admitted into the priesthood. In reality, our Indians of the mountains are remarked to be the people the most devoid of thought any where to be found.

They go in a great measure naked, but with some distinction. The men wear a short cotton shirt, painted with a variety of colours, and provided with a half sleeve: this covering,

vering, which reaches to the middle of the thigh, is named *usti*. The married women are invariably clad in a *pampanilla* of the same stuff, or, in other words, in a short petticoat, open at the sides, which barely reaches from the waist to the knees. In seating themselves, both men and women carefully cross the skirts of their garment between the legs, to cover the parts which decency obliges them to conceal. The unmarried females, however, appear like Eve in Paradise*. When we reflect that, among the nations in question, there must be many virgins in a state of puberty, we cannot fail to be persuaded, that custom is a species of antidote against the darts of the impure god of the gardens, whose wounds, beneath the torrid zone, give an impulsion to the sexes, and hurry them on blindly: *in furias, ignesque ruunt*. There are other tribes in which all the individuals of either sex present themselves, like the *athletæ*, the wrestlers at the Olympic games, who, after the accident that befel Orcippus, appeared entirely naked. This custom, which was highly reprehensible in a civilized nation, such as Greece, is perhaps not so much to be condemned in our barbarians, who are incited to it by the warmth of the climate, in the particular regions they inhabit. The men cut short their hair, leaving it to fall in front to the brows, and behind as low as the point of the ear: on the top is a knot or wreath, interwoven with long and beautiful feathers. They perforate the chin, and the cartilaginous part between

* The following problem may be proposed: Why, among these Indians, the married women are covered, and the virgins naked?—and whence arises the sensation of shame, in the act which breaks through the boundaries of that estimable state?

the nostrils, after the manner of the Persians, Arabians, and inhabitants of the coast of Malabar ; and wear a variety of pendants of gold and silver. They adorn the arms and neck with bracelets and collars, made of the teeth of men who have perished in the war, or of those of animals. Over the shoulder they throw the quiver, and in the hands they bear the bow and the arrow. The women likewise cut the hair in front, leaving it to fall to the brows ; but are particularly careful of the hinder hair, which flows loosely and copiously over the shoulders : they ornament their ears with the choicest trinkets. Both males and females stain the teeth and lips of a black hue, and the body of various colours. In painting the face, they have recourse to red, the colour which, among the Romans, served as a distinctive mark to Jupiter on the days of the public festivals, and which likewise decorated the countenance of the heroes, when they made their public entry into Rome*. If the god Cupid were to throw off his bandage, he and his mother Venus might serve to depict these nations. But the resemblance in this respect, does not produce in them an identity of customs, as happens to the inhabitants of the Maldivian Isles, in whom an analogous stile of dress, or rather the absence of all covering, has obliterated even the idea of shame.

* *Quod rubens color decorum sit, unde et triumphantes facie miniata.*—*Serv. in Virg. Eclog. VI.* A passion for beauty, according to the ideas they entertain of it, is not the only reason why the Indians who dwell on the mountains paint themselves : they likewise do this to guard against the punctures of the insects, whose feeble sting cannot penetrate the coat of paint which they spread over the surface of the body.

A warrior belonging to one of the barbarous nations, inhabitants of the mountainous territory, is introduced in *Plate XV.*; but in a costume appropriate to a particular tribe, such as could be displayed, with a proper observance of decorum, in the capital of Peru, by the civilized Indians, by whom a group of these warriors was represented, in the procession which has been so often referred to in this work. It will be perceived by the engraving, that the performers in the spectacle, constituting the group in question, were masked; no doubt with a view to save themselves the pain and trouble of having the nose perforated, so as to display the pendant which decorates that part.

To return to the subject of the narration. When compared with the Maldivians above-cited, and with many other nations of Asia, Africa, and Europe, our Indians may be reckoned continent. With the exception of the caciques, who in some instances have two wives, the rest hold in abhorrence polygamy, as well as contracts of marriage entered into with those who are near of kin, to the fourth degree inclusive. They are solicitous to form an alliance with a family distinct from their own, demanding of their parents their future consorts, with the interposition of the cacique, or, which is more commonly the case, by virtue of a contract made between the heads of the two families, the young couple are united, and brought up together from their infancy, cohabiting when they are of an age to enter into the matrimonial state. The mode in which they are reared, has the effect of producing such tender loves, that there are not wanting Artemisias, who bury in their entrails the ashes of their defunct lords. These bonds are not, however, indissoluble; and the husband is as free to
quit



Indian Warrior belonging to a barbarous Tribe.

quit the wife, and to seek another, whenever it is as agreeable to him, as is, on the other hand, the companion of his bed. The women, however, are commonly the last to break the connubial chains. Finally, it would appear, that here the conditions are equal. It is well known, that among the Turks, Parthians, and other eastern nations, the balance inclines in favour of the man, who, in his seraglio, represents a cock surrounded by innumerable hens*. On the coast of Malabar, the ascendancy is on the side of the females, who are affianced to as many men as they please, and who even take them by surprize in the streets. In that country, observes a sage, love, in a physical point of view, has an irresistible force : the attack is certain, and the resistance null. Man, without religion, is capable of the greatest excesses.

Idolatry being an evil of so ancient a date, that it is conjectured by some writers to have been anterior to the flood ; and so pestilent, that having contaminated the whole world, it oppressed ancient Caria to such a degree, as to oblige the inhabitants of Caunus to institute a strict search, in the course of which, darting their javelins furiously in the air, they pursued and banished from their confines the odious and troublesome gods whose worship did not permit them to respire ; it is extraordinary that it is not to be found among the greater part of the Indians of the mountains. They believe in one God, on whom they bestow the human figure, and whom they make to be the author of the earth, and of the heavens,

* We are informed by Plutarch, that Surena, the Parthian general by whom Crassus was vanquished, had ten thousand wives who followed him to the war.

whither, they say, he retired, after having terminated the creation of the former. They name him our Father, our Grandsire ; but neither erect to him an altar, nor build him a temple, nor pay him the slightest homage. They simply address themselves to him at the time of an earthquake. They think that this phenomenon arises from his quitting the sky, to pass in review living mortals, and to infer, from the noise they make, the number of those who exist. Impressed with this belief, and persuaded that at each of his steps the globe trembles, they scarcely perceive the smallest movement, than they all quit their huts simultaneously, running, leaping, and stamping the ground, with the exclamation of, *here we are, here we are !* A superstition of this nature unquestionably originated from those primitive sentiments, deeply engraven in the human breast, touching the adorable and beneficent providence of God, which watches over mortals ;—from those ineffable sentiments which can never be obliterated, either by barbarism, by idolatry, or by those pernicious and perverse deists who dare to lift the finger against Him to whom they owe their being, and who watches over their existence. How great a benefit would it be to the human race, if these pretended fathers of philosophy could be collected, and immured in the forests of the country of the Amazons, to the end that, in stamping the ground with the barbarians, they might at least be led in this way to acknowledge the Divine Providence, and cease to disturb the order which is so essentially connected with the felicity and repose of man !

In developing the obscure traditions of the above-mentioned Indians, a glimpse of the great events of the earliest epochs of Nature, and even of those of posterior times, may be discerned ;

cerned ; but so imperfectly, that it would be rash to deduce from the little information which can be collected on this head, the preaching of the apostles in South America, as some have asserted.

These Indians likewise admit an evil being, the inhabitant of the centre of the earth, whom they consider as the author of their misfortunes, and at the mention of whose name they tremble. The most shrewd among them take advantage of this belief, to obtain respect ; and represent themselves as his delegates. Under the denomination of *Mohanes*, or *Agoreros*, they are consulted even on the most trivial occasions. They preside over the intrigues of love, the health of the community, and the taking of the field. Whatever repeatedly occurs to defeat their prognostics, falls on themselves ; and they are wont to pay their deceptions very dearly.

To extend the empire of Cupid, they have recourse to the *piripiri*, the generic name of various kinds of compositions derived from the vegetable kingdom. One of these compositions, received into the stomach, is deemed to have a peculiar effect on females*. The plant *guayanchi*, worn by the man in the *usti*, and by the woman in the *pampanilla*, or rubbed on the legs, arms, weapons, &c. cements the bonds of love, and gives a successful issue to every enterprize.

Another species of *piripiri* they chew and throw into the air, accompanying this act by certain recitals and incantations, to injure some, to benefit others, to procure rain, and the inundation of the rivers, or, on the other hand, to occasion settled

* Una de ellas, tragada, se cree disminuir el volumen de ciertas partes del sexó femenino, y mejorar su conformacion.—*Spanish Text.*

weather, and a plentiful store of agricultural productions. Any such result having been casually verified on a single occasion, suffices to confirm the Indians in their faith, although they may have been cheated a thousand times. Fully persuaded that they cannot resist the influence of the *piripiri*, as soon as they know that they have been solicited by its means, they fix their eyes on the impassioned object, and discover a thousand amiable traits, either real or fanciful, which indifference had before concealed from their view.

But the principal power, efficacy, and, it may be said, misfortune, of the Mohanes, consist in the cure of the sick. Every malady is ascribed to their enchantments, and means are instantly taken to ascertain by whom the mischief may have been wrought. For this purpose, the nearest relative takes a quantity of the juice of *floripondium**, and suddenly falls, intoxicated by the violence of the plant. He is placed in a fit posture to prevent suffocation, and on his coming to himself, at the end of three days, the Moharis who has the greatest resemblance to the sorcerer he saw in his visions, is to undertake the cure, or if, in the interim, the sick man has perished, it is customary to subject him to the same fate. When not any sorcerer occurs in the visions, the first Moharis they encounter has the misfortune to represent his image.

It cannot be denied, that the Moharises have, by practice and tradition, acquired a profound knowledge of many plants and poisons, with which they effect surprizing cures on the one hand, and do much mischief on the other ; but the mania of ascribing the whole to a preternatural virtue, occasions

* *Datura arborea*.—*Linn.*

them to blend with their practice a thousand charms and superstitions. The most customary method of cure is to place two hammocks close to each other, either in the dwelling, or in the open air: in one of them the patient lies extended, and in the other the Mohan, or Agorero. The latter, in contact with the sick man, begins by rocking himself, and then proceeds, by a strain *in falsetto*, to call on the birds, quadrupeds, and fishes, to give health to the patient. From time to time he rises on his seat, and makes a thousand extravagant gestures over the sick man, to whom he applies his powders and herbs, or sucks the wounded or diseased parts. If the malady augments, the Agorero, having been joined by many of the people, chaunts a short hymn, addressed to the soul of the patient, with this burden: *thou must not go, thou must not go*. In repeating this, he is joined by the people, until at length a terrible clamour is raised, and augmented in proportion as the sick man becomes still fainter and fainter, to the end that it may reach his ears. When all the charms are unavailing, and death approaches, the Mohan leaps from his hammock, and betakes himself to flight, amid the multitude of sticks, stones, and clods of earth, which are showered on him. Successively all those who belong to the nation assemble, and dividing themselves into bands, each of them, if he who is in his last agonies is a warrior, approaches him, saying: *whither goest thou? Why dost thou leave us? With whom shall we proceed to the aucas* (the enemies)? They then relate to him the heroic deeds he has performed, the number of those he has slain, and the pleasures he leaves behind him. This is practised in different tones: while some raise the voice, it is lowered by others; and the poor sick man is obliged to support these importunities

portunities without a murmur, until the first symptoms of approaching dissolution manifest themselves. Then it is that he is surrounded by a multitude of females, some of whom forcibly close the mouth and eyes ; others envelop him in the hammock, oppressing him with the whole of their weight, and causing him to expire before his time ; and others, lastly, run to extinguish the candle, and dissipate the smoke, that the soul, not being able to perceive the hole through which it may escape, may remain entangled in the structure of the roof. That this may be speedily effected, and to prevent its return to the interior of the dwelling, they surround the entrances with filth, by the stench of which it may be expelled.

Relatively to the destiny of the soul itself, there are various opinions : some believe that it goes to the other world, to live as in this one, but in the enjoyment of a greater degree of repose. One of the earliest missionaries to the Maynas tribe, inquired of a dying old man, whether he was desirous to visit another world ? He replied, without hesitation, yes, and for this reason, that his relations were there, in expectation of him, with boiled plantains and *yucas**. As whatever they figure to themselves is material, they are consequently of opinion that, in a future state, there are dances and scenes of revelry, wars, and rural excursions. The flashes of lightning are the assaults ; the noise of the exhalations, the decapitated enemies, who are instantly converted into wild-beasts ; and the milky way, the grove of diversions. The warrior there finds a splendid reception ; on which account they are accus-

* The root of which the cassada bread is made.

tomed to lay at his side a copper hatchet, or an arrow, that he may make his entry triumphantly. Others are persuaded of a transmigration, not only into other human bodies, but likewise into those of brutes. The caciques, warriors, and faithful wives, constantly pass into the animals that are deemed the most estimable, such as the monkey, the tiger, &c. ; and as the certain inference is drawn by these Indians, that the soul of their father, or of the cacique, entered into this monkey with a tail, or into that one with a beard, they make a thousand genuflections to the animal, and worship him as if he were a patriarch. Quintus Ennius could not have passed more effectually, when he was in the body of the peacock ; nor the brachmanes, the progenitors of the modern brahmins, whose highest satisfaction it was, when they found their dissolution approaching, to be so near to a cow or a horse, as to be enabled to drag it by the tail, and thus find a ready entrance for their spirit by the posterior opening. Notwithstanding, in imitation of the Greeks and Romans, the Indians in question fancy that certain spirits flutter in the air, or are pent up in the bottom of the rivers, either on account of particular crimes, or until they can meet with a body which may be adapted to them ; still, generally speaking, they have not any idea of sins, or of an abode of torments in a future state. To a Jesuit who reproached an old man with the former, and endeavoured to persuade him of the existence of the latter, he replied in a very serious tone : “ take notice, there is nothing in all this ; my sins are very good ; I find them about me, and shall not go, neither do I wish to go, to burn myself.”

Proceeding from the soul to the body, it is to be observed,
that

that as soon as the dying man is suffocated by the closing of the mouth, nostrils, &c. and wrapt up in the covering of his bed, the most circumspect Indian, whether male or female, takes him in the arms in the best manner possible, and gives a *gentle* shriek, which echoes to the bitter lamentations of the immediate relatives, and to the cries of a thousand old women collected for the occasion. As long as this dismal howl subsists, the latter are subjected to a constant fatigue, raising the palm of the hand to wipe away the tears, and lowering it to dry it on the ground. The result of this alternate action is, that a circle of earth, which gives them a most hideous appearance, is collected about the eye-lids and brows ; and they do not wash themselves until the mourning is over. These first clamours conclude by several good pots of *masato**, to assuage the thirst of sorrow ; and the company next proceed to make a great clatter among the utensils of the deceased : some break the kettles, and others the earthen pots, while others, again, burn the apparel, to the end that his memory may be the sooner forgotten. If the defunct has been a cacique, or powerful warrior, his exequies are performed after the manner of the Romans : they last for many days, all the people weeping in concert for a considerable space of time, at day-break, at noon, in the evening, and at midnight. When the appointed hour arrives, the mournful music begins in front of the house of the wife and relatives, the heroical deeds of the

* To procure this drink, they boil a certain quantity of *yucas*, and having reduced them into a paste, or meal, moisten it with saliva, leaving it to ferment for three days. By the addition of water, it becomes a very powerful and intoxicating liquor.

deceased being chanted to the sound of instruments. All the inhabitants of the vicinity unite in chorus from within their houses, some chirping like birds, others howling like tigers, and the greater part of them chattering like monkeys, or croaking like frogs. They constantly leave off by having recourse to the *masato*, and by the destruction of whatever the deceased may have left behind him, the burning of his dwelling being that which concludes the ceremonies. Among some of the Indians, the nearest relatives cut off their hair, as a token of their grief, agreeably to the practice of the Moabites, and other nations.

On the day of decease, they put the body, with its insignia, into a large earthen vessel, or painted jar, which they bury in one of the angles of the quarter, laying over it a covering of potter's clay, and throwing in earth until the grave is on a level with the surface of the ground. When the obsequies are over, they forbear to pay a visit to it, and lose every recollection of the name of the warrior. The Roamaynas disenterre their dead, as soon as they think that the fleshy parts have been consumed; and having washed the bones, form the skeleton, which they place in a coffin of potter's clay, adorned with various symbols of death, like the hieroglyphics on the wrappers of the Egyptian mummies. In this state the skeleton is carried home, to the end that the survivors may bear the deceased in respectful memory, and not in imitation of those extraordinary voluptuaries of antiquity, who introduced into their most splendid festivals a spectacle of this nature, which, by reminding them of their dissolution, might stimulate them to taste, before it should overtake them, all the impure pleasures the human passions could afford them. A space of time, which appears

to be about a year, being elapsed, the bones are once more inhumed, and the individual to whom they belonged forgotten for ever. Respect and charity for the ashes of the deceased, are not characteristics peculiar to civilized nations, seeing that they are likewise infused into the breast of barbarians; but as those who people the extensive territories of the Andes, and the surrounding plains, are innumerable, there are not wanting among them Massagetans, who pierce with arrows their expiring companions; Romans, who cast them into the rivers; Troglodytes, who abandon the dead bodies, or cover them with stones; and Issedonians, who devour them.

Strabo asserts, that the Bactrians delivered up their living old men to be devoured by dogs; and Eusebius testifies the same of the Hyrcanians: an inhumanity which the learned marquis of St. Aubin* regards as incredible. In our opinion, that which father Figueroa† relates of the Cocamas, and other barbarians residing on the same territory, is not less so. He says, that when a child is born, the parents deliberate whether they shall grant it life, or, on the other hand, put it to death, to the end that they may not be burthened with children, or leave any one behind them to lament their loss. If the latter resolve be taken, they bury them alive with the secundine, unless one of the progenitors, or any other person,

* *Traité de l'Opinion*, tom. v. p. 78.

† Father Francisco Figueroa, belonging to the extinguished order of Jesuits, a celebrated missionary who visited the Maynas provinces, and gave an exact and minute description of them in 1665. The MS. containing a hundred and fifteen folio pages, is in our possession, and has been of great use in the present details.

approach to lift them from the earth. In that case, they rear and love them affectionately. Can it be credited, however, that a mother can refuse to stretch out her arms, at the joyful moment when she receives the fruit of her pangs? When the tender cries of the infant put in motion all the affection of which the human heart is susceptible, will she be desirous that her offspring should pass from her own bowels into those of the earth? These Indians may perhaps think the days of man so unhappy, that they confer on him a kindness, when they abridge the term of his misfortunes; but they would not do this in so cruel a manner. They are in possession of poisons. It is beyond a doubt, that the Carthaginians sacrificed their children to their false deities; and that the Chinese expose them on the highways, to want, and the inclemency of the weather;—certainly a most barbarous and infallible death, unless they are succoured by the piety of the passenger. But the Indians have neither the fanaticism nor the indigence of those nations. They live in a manner naked, and have not any hand which oppresses them, nor any gods which require bloody holocausts: *securi adversus homines, securi adversus deos**; and it is necessary that they should multiply, to cultivate their fields, and to maintain the mutual and constant wars which are fomented.

They find some difficulty in subsisting without implements of husbandry, which is not owing to any deficiency of soil and rivers, since these are most fertile in fruits, birds, quadrupeds, and fishes; but they cannot dispense with certain roots which require culture. Of these the principal is the yuca, with

* Corn. Tacit. de Moribus Germ.

which they make the masato, their only comfort and drink. They seldom taste water, which, in consequence of the heat, and of the innumerable morasses, is of a very noxious quality. To cultivate the yuca, they clear a small portion of the forest with hatchets of stone, wrought with much patience*, and having burned the felled wood, turn up the earth, that it may dry and fall in pieces, with a kind of stick shaped like a sword. They likewise cultivate cotton, the pods of which supply them with the greater part of the materials they employ in the manufacture of the *ustis* and *pampanillas*.

Their attention is, however, so little occupied by agriculture and manufactures, that it may be asserted, that their sole occupations are hunting, fishing, and war. For these three purposes they employ the same instruments, consisting of tubes, spears, clubs, chinganas†, poniards, and darts and arrows, made of the hardest woods, and having their points imbued with active poisons derived from the vegetable kingdom. For the fishes, they usually have recourse to the tubes and arrows; and for the quadrupeds, to the latter, and to the darts, throwing them with the greatest dexterity. For this reason they are not afraid, in their forests, to

* Father Girbal brought from Manoa one of these hatchets, in shape perfectly resembling ours, but which, instead of a handle, was provided with two ears, with a channel to secure the extremity by the means of cords. The Indians manufacture them with other stones, aided by the *chambo*, or small copper axe, and then with water and patience proceed to sharpen them.

† A particular kind of lance, the handle of which is made of *chonta*, a species of ebony, and the point of a scorched reed, which inflicts a cruel wound.

defy the tiger, or any other ferocious animal*. They insult him, and calmly wait his attack, entertaining so firm a persuasion of the violence of the poison, as to be satisfied that, on the infliction of a wound with one of their arrows, still more terrible than those of Hercules, when dipped in the blood of the hydra of Lerne, the most powerful quadruped must fall dead†. They have an equal address in fishing, wounding the large fishes in the head with their arrows, as soon as they perceive them, and employing nets, and hooks made of bones, for the smaller ones. From the age of five years, both males and females are accustomed to the canoes‡; and they are accordingly very powerful as well as skilful in the management of them. They navigate and stop alternately, one of them being stationed at the stern, with an oar which supplies the place of a rudder, and the other at the prow, to discover, as the canoe proceeds, the shelves which are wont to be formed by the large trees swept along by the rivers.

But the ruling passion, the object of their rejoicings, of their pleasures, and of their greatest felicity, is war. To undertake it, a general congress of all the nation, presided either by the cacique, or by the individual who is to command the

* The Conivos, in their festivals, amuse themselves with hunting the wild boar, for which purpose the animal is brought into an enclosed space, where they first render him furious, and then kill him with great address.

† It is deserving of notice, that these Indians never employ poisoned weapons in their combats; and that we, who have recourse to a thousand artifices destructive of the human race, and compel both iron and fire to serve against their destinies, call them barbarians!

‡ In the travels of the missionaries, a particular description of these canoes will be given.

warlike hosts, is assembled. The pipes of tobacco are lighted, the pots of masato are handed round, and when Bacchus has already taken possession of their senses and faculties, they deliberate on this important point, and on the nation which is to be the object of their vengeance. The causes are, either a desire to plunder; or because they deem themselves affronted; or, lastly, because they have received an injury from other tribes on which they dare not seek revenge. The expedition being resolved on, they recommend to the Mohan certain fasts, to which he is to subject himself most rigorously. For this purpose he retires from all human intercourse, and immures himself in a solitary hut, which he usually quits half dead. He replies by urging the necessity of entering on the campaign. If it be prosperous, they bestow on him a thousand praises, and the best of the spoil; but if it terminate unfortunately, he receives from them as many stripes and execrations. When the day arrives on which they are to march, they invest themselves with all the trappings and offensive weapons that have been pointed out, carrying, as defensive ones, bucklers made with interwoven reeds, and lined with the skins of animals. That they may have a clear sight to descry the enemy, they rub the eyes with red pepper. Having formed in column, the general delivers a short harangue, exhorting his people to valour and constancy; and from time to time bestows a few taps on the legs of those whom he observes to be sluggish, or to be out of their station. This disposition having been made, they set out for the enemy.

As these piracies are frequent and unexpected, the towns they inhabit are as many fortifications prepared for defence. They are formed of several large buildings, with two doors of
commu-

communication, one at the side of the steep ascent, and the other next the level ground. The whole represents a half moon, with the convex part turned towards the forest. In this way, while they are assailed at one of the doors, and while a part of them repress the enemy's impetuosity, the rest gain the forest by the other outlet, and, having divided themselves into two wings, maintain advantageously the defence of the place. With the same view, deep excavations are made in the centre of the half moon, and, in other parts, brambles and stones are heaped together, and covered over with earth and palm-leaves, to the end that, by entangling the feet of the incautious in their progress, they may be prevented from advancing with promptitude. At a certain distance, drums made of hollow trunks are suspended from the trees: being slightly secured in the ground, the passage of the enemy disengages the cord, and the noise they make in their fall gives notice of the danger. As all these Indians are, however, of the same stamp, they are acquainted with and deride these stratagems.

As soon as the invaders imagine themselves near to the populations they mean to assault, they halt, and dispose themselves in a column. The general now harangues them a second time, and inflames their courage. They then proceed to adjust carefully the *llautos*, or plumes, as well as the collars and bracelets, preparing their weapons, and rushing impetuously on each other, with a view to render themselves formidable. After these preliminaries, they send out their scouts to reconnoitre the ground and the trees, and to ascertain the path by which they may proceed with security. Having found it, they advance with the utmost silence, towards the dwellings,

dwelling, which they assail with a terrible war-whoop, maiming and decapitating all they encounter, with the exception of the children, whom they lead into captivity. After having satiated themselves with the spilling of human blood, and having plundered whatever is within their reach, more especially the heads of those they have slain, they return victoriously to their homes. The invaded sometimes stand on the defensive; but usually those who attack are the vanquishers. Their most common practice, therefore, is to fly to the forest, and having assembled there, to proceed to the encounter of the invading foe, whose progress they arrest. Having in their turn become the assailants, the issue of the contest is frequently so much in their favour, that they do not leave any one of the adversaries to carry to his nation the tidings of the defeat. But whether their attempt be prosperous or unsuccessful, they complete the destruction of the town which the enemy had assaulted, and remove to another part.

If those who engage in an expedition of this nature succeed in all the stratagems of the warfare, they dispatch a messenger to their nation to announce their victories. The instant these are made known, all who remained behind, the women more particularly, collect together, and sally forth to meet the warriors, bestowing on them welcomes and encomiums in proportion to the number of heads each brings with him, and reprehending and deriding him who comes without them. This operates so powerfully on these barbarians, that they would suffer death sooner than enter their house without the head of an enemy, or some other extraordinary token of their prowess. Those who maintain that the Indian does not pique himself

self on his honour, of which, according to them, he is devoid of every sentiment, certainly have not studied his heart. The Itucalis, in proportion as they decapitate their enemies, divide the skin which covers the bridge of the nose, and by the introduction of the small husks of the palm into the incised parts, form warts, or excrescences, the number of which is from time to time augmented, until at length they extend from the space between the brows to the tip of the nose, and occasion an uneven outer ridge, by which these Indians are extremely disfigured. The first process they perform on the heads they bring with them, is to boil them, and having stripped the skin from the head and visage, it is stuffed with straw, and dried in the smoke, thus forming a mask. The teeth they extract for their collars, and the skulls they suspend as trophies from the roofs of their dwellings.

Their victories are celebrated with much solemnity, in the house of the captain, or cacique, on a particular day appointed for that purpose. For these joyous occasions a provision is made of a great number of jugs of masato, which are placed in rows in a large saloon, having different seats, according to the quality of the guests. At the appointed time all the people assemble, decked with a thousand ridiculous and extravagant inventions.

The warriors constantly bring with them the masks which have been above pointed out, and which they grasp by the hair. Being assembled at the door of the banquetting-house, they prepare their weapons, and having made a feint attack, retire backward, as if they were repulsed : at the third assault they break their ranks, and proceed to form a circle. The dancing and singing now commence, the principal aim of

the latter being to insult the masks, and to tax them with cowardice, and with not having either fasted, or anointed the eyes with red pepper. While they vent these reproaches, they commend the prowess of those by whom they were subdued. The dance concludes by copious draughts of masato ; and in this alternation of dancing, singing, and drinking, they remain for several days and nights without intermission, until all the jars are empty. Father Figueroa pleasantly observes, that he is at a loss to conjecture how they have a head for so much noise, a throat for so much exclamation, and a tooth for so much liquor.

The whole being terminated, they rise, form into two columns, the one opposite to the other, and begin to dance, mutually attacking each other, dragging the adverse party by the hair, and striking him furiously. In this practice they resemble the Corybantes, the mad priests of CYBELE, who introduced into their sacrifices to that goddess, armed dances, in the course of which they attacked and wounded each other with their weapons. They now depart peaceably for their homes.

The captives made by our barbarians are treated with infinite humanity, as if they were their brethren ; a quality which they observe among themselves, begging pardon whenever they have given offence. They are very attentive to their guests, whom they salute by kissing the points of the fingers, with which they afterwards stroke the chin, and then hold out the hand agreeably to the usage of civilized nations.

ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLIC CONGREGATIONS OF THE NEGROES RESIDING
IN THE DISTRICT OF LIMA.

THE situation of these unfortunate slaves has a strong claim on our compassion. In the negotiations of those who hold them in subjection, they are reduced to the level of a bale of merchandize ; and are sometimes treated worse than the mules and asses, in the very plantations they water with the sweat of their brow. They constitute, in Peru, the great mass of the rural and domestic servants ; and an account of their different usages in the capital, of their public meetings more especially, cannot be other than interesting.

Religion is the consolation of the unhappy : accordingly, the most barbarous nations, at the epochs of their greatest calamities, have had recourse to this principle, and have found no other alleviation of their misery, except in the persuasion that the Supreme Being had, by anticipation, decreed their misfortunes. The Mexicans, when attacked by the Spaniards, terrified by the novelty of their weapons, and by the display of their prowess, fancied that they had been destined to subjection, by certain sacred prophecies, many years before*. The Peruvians regarded their conquerors as demi-gods sent from heaven ; and, with this idea strongly impressed on the mind, were faithful to them, served them cheerfully, and submitted to their domination. The Guinea negroes think that slavery, with those of their species, is the effect of an ex-

* Solis: Historia de la Conquista de Mexico, lib. ii. cap. 4.

press mandate of God*. With an awful regard for such notions, which are the elements of their conversation, it is not surprising that all the recreations of the newly-imported slaves, should have an immediate reference to religion. The first step they take is to form themselves into associations, or fraternities, which, at the same time that they unite them in the discharge of their religious duties, maintain the social relations of the respective communities, and enable them to participate generally in their recreations.

The principal casts of the negroes engaged in menial services in Lima, are ten, namely, the Terranovans, Lucumes, Mandinguanes, Cambundians, Carabalies, Cangaes, Chalas, Huarochiries, Congoes, and Misanguans. These names are not all of them precisely derived from the country in which each cast originated, several of them, such as that of Huarochiries, being arbitrary, and others derived from the region where they were first disembarked, such as that of Terranovans.

All these casts are subject to two head corporals, chosen by the communities themselves, who remain in the enjoyment of this post until their death. The election is holden in the

* The Dutch writer, Bosman, in his *Voyage to Guinea*, section 10, relates the fable from which the negroes derive their unfortunate destiny. They say that "God having created negroes and whites, proposed to them two gifts, either that of possessing gold, or of learning to read and write. As he gave to the negroes the first choice, they decided in favour of the gold, leaving to the whites the knowledge of letters, which was granted them. But being enraged at this cupidity for gold, displayed by the blacks, he resolved at the same time that they should be eternally governed by the whites, whom they should be obliged to serve in quality of slaves."

chapel of our Lady of the Rosary, founded, at the expence of the nations in question, in the great convent of Saint Domingo. Those who are allowed to vote are the negro chiefs (*capataces*), and the *twenty-four*, who may be denominated senators, belonging to each nation. The chaplains of the communities are present at the election; and the choice invariably falls on the most ancient individuals, having to boast their descent from the founders. The names of the persons thus elected are entered in a book kept for that purpose, without any influence or concurrence on the part of the high judiciary court.

The same formalities are observed when a subaltern corporal, or any one of the twenty-four brethren, is appointed for either of the nations partially; but these individuals, on their admission, are made to contribute, the corporal ten piastres, and the brother twelve. The one half of this money is applied to the worship of our Lady, and the other half to the purchase of the refreshments distributed among the electors, whose decisions are entered in the book above cited.

These dignities procure their possessors much consideration on the part of those who belong to their tribe; but in whatever concerns their slavery and services, are absolutely useless, and do not afford them any relief. It is deserving of a smile, or rather of compassion, to see the sovereign of an African nation set out, with his subjects, at two or three o'clock in the morning, to mow the grass, and occasionally receive at their hands the stripes to which he is sentenced by the major-domo.

By the means of half a real subscribed annually by each individual, these African nations are enabled to defray the expences of the worship of our Lady of the Rosary. On the Sunday after the feast of *Corpus Christi* the contributions are
laid

laid on a table, placed in the centre of the little square of Santo Domingo, without an instance ever having occurred of a greater offering being made. With the total amount of what is collected, the charges of the annual festival, in honour of the above-mentioned image, are, however, liquidated, as well as all the disbursements attendant on the worship alluded to. In the case of the demise of any of the members, the burial charges are defrayed from the same source ; but for the masses and responses each fraternity subscribes six reals. Whenever there is a deficiency, a collection is made by the head corporals, who distribute the amount among the subordinate corporals and brethren, the latter being, on all occasions, subject to their decisions.

Formerly the Terranovans and Lucumes cultivated the worship of the image of San Salvador, in the great convent of our Lady of Mercy ; but at the present time this devotion belongs to the Congoes, whose fellowship is established in the avenue of the convent of San Francisco de Paula, without any support except that of the alms collected voluntarily among themselves. In the same way the Mandinguans had a fellowship, or place of assembly, in the church of the great convent of San Francisco, dedicated to the Virgin, under the title of our Lady of Lima : it is at this time in ruins ; and the other fellowships which subsisted in the churches of San Sebastian and Monserrat, in the chapel of Baratillo, and in the small chapel at the extremity of the bridge, appear to be in the same condition. The negroes, mulattoes, and quarterons, consisting principally of creoles, or individuals born in the country, have a fellowship in the church of San Augustin, for the worship of San Nicolas. They chuse their major-domo with

with the approbation of the royal audience ; but have not any funds for the support of their religious association, except the gratuitous contributions collected among themselves.

The festival which more especially excites them to a display of all their show and finery, is that of the Sunday of the octaves of *Corpus Christi* day. All the tribes unite for the procession, which sets out on that day from the great convent of Santo Domingo. Each carries its banner, and a canopy, beneath which proceeds the king or queen, with a sceptre in the right hand, and a staff, or some other instrument, in the left. These personages are accompanied by all the individuals belonging to the nation, provided with certain noisy instruments of music, the greater part of them having a very disagreeable sound. Those who compose the retinue of the kings or queens, vie with each other in the adoption of the most horrible costumes. Some appear in the guise of devils ; others are covered with feathers from head to foot ; others imitate bears, with skins thrown over them ; and others, again, represent monsters, with horns, claws of lions, tails of serpents, and feathers of hawks. They are all of them armed with bows, arrows, clubs and shields. They stain the face of a red or blue colour, according to the usage of the countries which gave them birth ; and introduce into the procession certain horrid shouts and gestures, as terrific as if they were in reality engaged in the attack of an enemy. The seriousness and ferocious enthusiasm with which these scenes are represented, afford us an idea of the barbarity that would accompany their martial assaults. The decorations, which would be highly agreeable in a masquerade of carnival time, seem to be indecent in an ecclesiastical performance, and still more so in a proces-

procession, in which the smallest intrusive object profanes the dignity of the sacred act, and dissipates the devotion of the attendants. May our posterity look to the reform of this and other abuses, the eradication of which is so earnestly to be desired! The supreme authority has already, for wise and prudential reasons, prevented the negroes from carrying and discharging fire-arms in the course of the procession, as has been hitherto their practice.

All the assemblages which have been pointed out have religion for their pretext, but lead to others in which amusement is simply consulted. The negroes who are the object of this relation, have, in different streets of the city, quarters or spit-tals, denominated by them brotherhoods, which form the centre of their meetings on days of festivity. Each tribe has the separate enjoyment of one of these places for its meetings; and those which are numerous are in possession of two or three of them. These establishments are sixteen in number: by the voluntary offerings of the contributors, the site is purchased on which they are built; and they are holden by a small fine or quit-rent.

The corporal of each nation is the president of the assemblies, in which the strictest etiquette is observed, relatively to the precedence of the seats: they are invariably occupied according to the seniority of the members. These negroes, supporting with the utmost patience their hard agricultural labours; in a manner indifferent about good or bad fare; little sensible to the severity of chastisement; and intrepid in the discharge of all the duties to which they are called;—these very negroes cannot endure an injustice, or a neglect in the line of preferences. To occupy a hand's-breadth of ground
higher

higher or lower, decides all their satisfaction or grief. On a view of these contrarieties, it appears that the influence of opinion may overbalance that of Nature, the energies of which may be occasionally subdued by still more powerful impressions. There are men who suffer patiently both hunger and nakedness; who sleep tranquilly on wretched stools; who deprive themselves without regret of whatever society presents, of the most agreeable and consolatory description, in its civil bonds; and who then tremble, weep, become confused, and lose their reason, if in a casual encounter the left hand be touched instead of the right; if any one pronounce their name without annexing to it a flattering epithet; or if another combine the letters of the alphabet in this or in that manner, when it is to be described in writing. This is a species of insanity which has found its way into the obscure retreats destined for humility, patience, and freedom from error. Those who labour under this infirmity ought to blush, when they perceive that they are on a footing with these untutored negroes, and exposed to the same ridicule.

At two o'clock in the afternoon the assemblies which have been already cited regularly commence. The first hour of the session is employed in treating whatever may contribute to the advantage of the nation, in regulating the contributions, in bringing forward and settling the disputes which may have arisen between husband and wife, &c. The corporals give an account to the tribe, of the mode they have adopted in the disbursement of the contributions, and of the purposes to which the surplus, if there be any, is to be applied. What is most interesting, in these meetings, to the philosophical observer, is the formality with which the rulers and vassals pro-

nounce, opine, listen, and obey. Man is not truly sensible of his dignity, unless when the ties and dependencies of society enable him to establish a comparison between himself and his fellow-creatures. He then begins to modify his character, to respect himself, and to form, relatively to his existence, an idea infinitely more advantageous than the one he entertained, when he lived, in the company of wild beasts, on the mountains, and in the forests.

The rapidity with which these negroes pass from one extreme of gravity to another of noise, turbulence, and disorder, is equally deserving of admiration. The hour of consultation being expired, the dancing commences, and continues until seven or eight in the evening. The walls of their quarters, more particularly withinside, are covered with figures which represent their primitive kings, their battles, and their rejoicings. The sight of these grotesque paintings inflames and transports them. It has been frequently noticed, that the festivals which are celebrated withoutside these negro receptacles, and at a distance from their painted images, are of short duration, and destitute of any display of enthusiasm. In reality, the balls which are thus publicly given, do not possess any attractions, and are, besides, repugnant to the delicacy of our customs. When one of the negroes dances without a partner, which most commonly happens, he leaps confusedly in every direction, and twirls on his feet with violence, without directing his view to any object. All the address of the dancer consists in holding out for a considerable length of time, and in keeping, in the inflections of the body, within the limits of the pauses of those who sing in the circle. If two or four dance at the same time, the men first place themselves in front
of

of the women, singing, and making a variety of ridiculous contortions. The dancers then turn the back on each other, and separate by degrees. Finally, they all whirl to the right with one accord, and run impetuously to meet each other face to face. The rencounter which ensues, appears indecent to those who fancy that the outward actions of these negroes are equally consequent with ours. This simple and rude exercise constitutes all their recreation, their balls, and country-dances, without any other rules or figures beside those of caprice. They are diverted, however; and when the festival is at an end the impressions are obliterated. It would be well if our delicate balls, the stile of which we have borrowed from the English, French, and Germans, were not productive of any other consequences except those of lassitude and a waste of time. It is to be lamented that they are most frequently the vehicle of amorous intrigues, and the centre of whispers and scandals.

It has already been observed, that the music of the negroes is extremely disagreeable. Their principal instrument is the drum, which is usually made of a flask of leather, or of a wooden cylinder hollow withinside. When it is formed in this manner, it is not beaten with sticks, but struck with the hands. They have likewise small flutes, which they inflate with the nostrils. A kind of music is produced by striking the jaw-bone of a horse, or ass, dried in the sun, and having the teeth moveable. The friction of a smooth stick, against another cut transversely on the superficies, has a similar effect. The instrument which affords some degree of melody, is that which they name *marimba*. It is composed of a number of thin, long, and narrow tablets, adjusted at the distance of four lines from the mouths of several dry and empty calabashes,

which are, as well as the tablets, secured on an arc, or bow of wood. It is touched with two small sticks, in the same way as the psalteries of the Bohemians. The diameters of the calabashes, which constantly go on diminishing, render this instrument susceptible of being modified to the alternations of the diapason, insomuch that the sounds it occasionally produces, do not fail to be agreeable, even to delicate ears. It must, however, be acknowledged, that in music and dancing, as well as in many other relations dependent on talent and taste, the negroes are much more behind the Indians, than are the latter, when compared respectively with the Spaniards.

On the demise either of a corporal, or of one of the twenty-four brethren, or of the wife of the one or the other, the individuals composing the tribe to which the deceased belonged, assemble in the quarters set aside for the congregations, and there watch over the body. The funereal preparatives for this office are an irrefragable testimony that the negro, transported from his native soil, does not change his heart as well as his country ; since he maintains among us, and conceals in the sepulchre even, his superstition and his idolatry. How, indeed, can he have an affection for his new residence, in which he is condemned to lead so unhappy a life ? Can he do otherwise than abhor whatever contributes to cement his chains ? Can he adhere to the faith of those by whom he is oppressed ? This wretched being, who finds himself constrained to live with the eyes and body in a manner rivetted to the earth, and who generally dies without having acquired a proficiency in our language ; how is this miserable victim to elevate his soul to the contemplation of our sublime mysteries ? Four tallow candles illumine the piece of coarse cloth spread
over

over the body. The children of the deceased seat themselves at the foot of the bier, and the relatives at the sides, apostrophizing the corpse from time to time. The condolers leap and turn themselves round, stopping occasionally to repeat, in a low voice, certain prayers, agreeably to their native rites and idiom. Each person present contributes half a real for the expences of the interment, and for the purchase of the drink which is distributed. This is commonly the *guarapo*, a species of fermented liquor, and sometimes brandy. Before the drinking commences, the cup, filled with liquor, is carried to the mouth of the defunct, to whom a long conversation is directed, as if with a view to invite him to partake. He being supposed to have tasted the contents, it is passed to the chief mourners, and from them handed progressively until it reaches the last person in company, the same scrupulous attention to precedence being invariably observed, according to the degree of seniority of each individual. At length, this function, which was begun in sober sadness, concludes by drinking, singing, and dancing.

Our etiquettes of being seated in alcoves, to make a display of our grief ; of putting on family mourning ; of retiring for a determinate number of days ; of incurring superfluous expences, &c. assimilate our funerals with those of the negroes, and render them equally defective, although by a route diametrically opposite.

When the widow of any one of those who had attained the distinction of being corporal of the tribe, is desirous to contract a second marriage, it is necessary that she should give proofs to the whole of the assembly, both of the affection she entertained

entertained for her defunct spouse, and of the grief she felt at his loss. On the day which is named *quitaluto* (quit-weeds), the widow is carried in a sedan chair from her dwelling to the brotherhood. She enters weeping ; and if she does not display a sufficient address, in acting the part of a mourner, she exposes herself to the risk of receiving a few stripes, as a punishment for her insensibility. Immediately after her arrival, a lamb is immolated on one of the seats of earth within the quarters : this sacrifice is offered up to the manes of the deceased, to whose memory the bride is about to bid adieu for ever. She presents, on a silver salver, the shoes which during her widowhood had become old and crazy. These ceremonies being concluded, the preliminaries of the civil act of matrimony are performed ; and all the brethren display their earnestness to treat the newly married couple with liquors and viands of every description.

When it happens that a widower weds a second time, not any of these formalities are observed. The negroes say, that it is derogatory in a man to manifest his grief for the death of a woman, when for the one that is lost a hundred are to be found. If in any particular it is apparent that these wretched Africans are barbarians, it is in the adoption of this iniquitous maxim. Sensible and just men do not think in this manner. Among us, there are those who are persuaded that the long life of an antediluvian patriarch would not suffice to deplore the loss of a good wife.

The other assemblages which the negroes are in the habit of forming, are less interesting, either on account of their similarity to those that have been already described, or because they



Bozal, or Raw-negro, residing in the district of Lima.

they are analogous to our own*. The short sketch we have given of their amusements and public occupations, may serve to illustrate the history of man, and extend the information we possess relative to the societies of the inhabitants of Peru in general, and of the casts in particular which constitute among us a third estate. The knowledge of their inclinations and defects, cannot fail to interest the curious by the novelty and singularity of the principles that govern them, and the politicians by the certain data which these principles afford to their combinations. We have ventured to introduce a few applications and corollaries, not so much to give a higher zest to the subject matter, as to show that all the ideas of philosophy, and the relations of history, are useless and ineffectual, if we do not direct them, by comparison, to the knowledge and advantage of ourselves.

One of the above unfortunate class of beings makes the subject of *Plate XVI*. His haggard and forlorn look, and the wretched garb he wears, betoken the misery of his condition, surrounded as he is by affluence, in the territory to which he has been transported; and afford a striking and melancholy contrast to the splendour, exhibited in several of the preceding engravings, of those who oppress and hold him in chains.

* These are to be found under the distinct heads of Public Diversions, and Customs and Manners.

PART VII.

TOPOGRAPHY.

HISTORICAL AND CHOROGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF CHICHAS Y TARIJA.

POVERTY in human affairs has the same effect as the inverted lenses in optical tubes : it diminishes and confuses the objects. To what may be denominated its inherent qualities, opinion, which tyrannizes over the conceptions, has added others still more sensible. The poor man is, necessarily as it were, obscure, uncivil, dejected, and deficient ; and, to crown his misfortunes, he becomes ridiculous*. It suffices not to him to be virtuous, to merit the esteem of his fellow-creatures : it is necessary that he should be a prodigy ;—that he should work miracles. This consideration, which is so mortifying to all those whom fortune has wronged in the unequal distribution of her favours, is to the philosopher a source of flattering and consolatory meditations. Aware that honour, riches, and, occasionally, posthumous fame even, depend on certain accidents, the combination and government of which are not within his reach, he ceases to disquiet himself about obtaining them, or to afflict himself at their privation. Tran-

* Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se, quam quod ridiculos homines facit.—
Juven. Sat. vii.

quail in his retreat, he observes with a serene and penetrating eye, that applause and honour, nay friends even, come with fortune, and with her depart. The same reasonings apply to countries, in the history of which the consequences are equally cogent. In the time of Solomon, how many regions did not the earth contain, felicitous in the wisdom of their legislation, in the flourishing condition of their agriculture, or in the pastures which afforded nourishment to their useful and numerous flocks? Their sites, and even their names, have, notwithstanding, been forgotten, because they were poor; and we bear in our remembrance Ophir alone, on account of the gold with which it abounded. If the land discovered by Columbus had not afforded the prospect of any other utility, beside that of introducing, among its aborigines, the customs and faith of the Europeans, the glory of that adventurous Genoese would have vanished with his life, or even before, with the enterprize itself. Ferrer Maldonado, Quiros, Hudson, Baffins, Cook, &c. exposed their lives a thousand times to discover unknown lands; and in reality they discovered many. The want of riches in these parts scarcely allowed a miserable spot to be assigned to them in the geographical maps, at the same time that all the ignorant, and many of the learned, spoke with enthusiasm of Gran-Paititi, Gran-Quivira, Terra Firma, and the country of the Amazons, in consequence of the gold which was ascribed to them, notwithstanding one of the most celebrated of the national writers*, had demonstrated that the opulence of all these kingdoms was imaginary. The zeal for the propagation of the gospel, the spirit of con-

* Feyjoo: Teatro Critico, tom. iv. disc. 10.

quest, commerce, the study of antiquity, and that of natural history, are seldom directed to poor countries, in which, it may be said, they never make a permanent establishment. In the centre of Spain an idea was entertained of the *Batuecas**, that is, of the inhabitants of a province which, on account of its wretchedness, was thought to have subsisted during many centuries, secluded from all traffic and social intercourse; and in America this same idea is realized in the province of Chichas y Tarija, the description of which is about to be given†.

These vallies, capable, through their fertility and the abundant produce they might be made to supply, to revive the prodigies of ancient Sicily, and of the fabulous Arcadia, have been condemned, by their poverty, to remain confounded and forgotten. The Methodical Encyclopædia, Buffier, Echard,

* These people lived in the forests between Soria and Burgos, and resembled savages. They were discovered about three hundred and fifty years since. They were all of them fellers and carriers of wood.

† Our readers will pardon us, if we should be in some degree prolix, in treating this subject, on consideration of its novelty, and of the obscurity in which it has been hitherto enveloped. The reports of the government throw but little light on the perfect knowledge of the events and situation of this province. Some of them do not even mention it collaterally; and the one made by his excellency count Superunda, which is among the most remarkable, and best written, confines itself to the following brief notice: "The city of Tarija, in the same archbishopric (that of Chuquisaca), has but few Spanish inhabitants capable of forming a collective body; and notwithstanding the corregidor usually resides in the province of Chichas, united to the above city, a lieutenant-general is stationed there in quality of president of the senate. The ordinary alcalds are chosen annually. The territory is fertile, at the same time that there is but little commerce, on account of its retired situation."

Busching, Martiniere, La Croix, &c. either forbear, in their geographical tracts, to make mention of such a country, or misrepresent it most lamentably. The learned and laborious Alcedo* was unable to be very exact, or to go into any great length of detail, in his description of this province. In the Memoirs of Dr. Cosme Bueno, some valuable information may, indeed, be collected on this head; but the system which that distinguished cosmographer had traced out, did not allow him to follow rigorously either the historical or political style of writing. Several authentic manuscripts which we have collected from various parts, enable us to elucidate this subject, to which we now proceed without further preamble.

In those calamitous circumstances, coeval with the conquest of these kingdoms, in which the most powerful were constantly justified, and the weak, however replete with virtue, deemed culpable, there were not wanting several among the conquerors, who abandoned the leaders of the predominating factions, Pizarro and Almagro, and who, actuated by the same spirit of domineering, enriching themselves, and immortalizing their memory, proceeded, with a few companions, to the more distant parts of Peru, and there established themselves. Among these was a certain Francisco Tarija, whose country has not been precisely ascertained, although there is some reason to presume that he was a native of Seville. This adventurer, after having wandered for a considerable

* In his *Diccionario Historico Geographico, &c.* (Historical and Geographical Dictionary of the West Indies, or America), tom. i. page 479, in which part, as well as in many others, he almost literally copies what was said by Dr. Cosme Bueno in his Memoirs.

time by the rugged tracks of the Cordillera, escorted by a few Indians, and with a small band of followers under his command, at length stopped at the valley which has still continued to bear his name, and which is the subject of the present details. Its peaceable inhabitants, who were strangers to the yoke of the domination of the Yncas, and unacquainted with the tragedies that were acting in the western part of this continent, received their guests with that awful respect with which the Indian of those times viewed the European, the superiority of whose powers excited his surprize and admiration. Francisco Tarija, charmed by the mildness of the climate, by the fertility of the soil, and still more by the docility of the happy natives, came to a resolution not to proceed further. He settled among them, and laid the foundation of a small colony, agreeably to the plan of those which had been established in other parts of subjugated America.

As those who accompanied him were too few in number to afford him an effectual support, and as he could not expect any succour from the sea-coast, on account both of the distance and of the disturbances which prevailed there, he did not undertake any expedition worthy of being transmitted to posterity. Nothing more is, at least, known respecting him; and even this short sketch of his arrival in the valley, was deposited, in a loose way, in various papers belonging to the archives of the chapter of San Bernardo de Tarija. These documents were taken possession of by different notaries who filled that employment, and distributed throughout the kingdom. Several of them are now in the possession of a virtuoso belonging to the city of Piuro, who has had the goodness to transmit us a copy of them.

It

It would appear, by a comparison between the epoch of his establishment, and those which will be cited hereafter, that Francisco Tarija did not long enjoy the fruit of his labours. With the death of this prudent and courageous Spaniard, the freedom, and tenour of life, of the Indians of the valley, were restored to their primitive state. They again adopted their peculiar customs and language ; and, in forgetting the few principles of the Castillian tongue which they had been taught, preserved the word Tarija alone, without doubt because they entertained an esteem for the name and memory of a man, who had regarded them as his brethren, and had respected the sacred laws of humanity and justice. Notwithstanding several other Spaniards, as well as Mestizos, penetrated into this territory, with a view to form settlements, we are prevented from giving an account of their enterprizes and successes, by the obscurity we find in the memorials of that time, relative to this particular subject.

With the progress of years, the fame of the riches of Peru found its way into every part of the globe, becoming constantly more exaggerated, in proportion to the distance, and to the caprice of those by whom it was transmitted. A Portuguese of Parahuay, whose name, like that of Erostratus, ought to be eternally buried in oblivion, being stimulated by the insatiable desire of gold, overwhelmed the valley of Tarija with a calamity, equal, in proportion to the circumstances, to that which Narses brought on Italy, when he favoured the invasion of the Lombards ; and similar to that which count Julian caused to Spain, when he engaged the Moors to undertake the subjugation of that kingdom. This avaricious man assembled an entire nation of ferocious Indians, named Chirihuanos,

huanos, and conceived the project of proceeding with them to Peru, to appropriate to himself the produce of its rich mines. In reality he set about this undertaking ; and having entered with his troop of barbarians, desolated the country through which he passed, stealing the cattle, burning the crops and habitations, and putting to death all those he encountered, whether Spaniards, Indians, or Mestizos. In testimony of the guilt of his intentions, he loaded himself with spoils ; but found his punishment in the crime itself ; for the Chirihuanos slew him as soon as they perceived that he retreated with the riches they had aided him to collect. They did not think of returning to the country whence they came ; but, on the other hand, being delighted with the fertility and abundance of the new land which presented itself, took up their abode in the pleasant vales of Tarija. From that position they continually infested the roads of Peru, Tucuman, and Buenos-Ayres, which were scarcely rendered passable by the protection of an armed force, insomuch that the travellers laboured under similar apprehensions, and were obliged to take all the precautions that accompany the caravans of Arabia and Tartary.

As, in the progress of this history, the Chirihuanos Indians will occupy a considerable space, it may not be amiss, in this place, to give an idea of their origin and customs. These Indians, according to the commonly received opinion, do not constitute a part of the numerous Quechua nation, which peopled the extensive empire of Peru at the time it was first entered by the Spaniards. Their language, their costume, and their characteristic bravery, leave room for a fixed persuasion that they belong to the nation of the Tobas, the aborigines of the provinces of Parahuay. They are not idolaters ;
neither

neither are they acquainted with any of those extravagances, which, through a want of true religion, are admitted under the name of worship. This independence of their spirit, or, rather, this indocility with regard to a Superior Being, has so powerful an influence on their temporal government, that it is merely a species of military democracy, in which the elders and captains, who among them are regarded as the sages and fathers of the country, discuss and decide the questions of peace and war, in a house appropriated, in each of the towns, to that particular purpose. They are so vain of their ancient origin, that they despise the Spaniards as a nation of needy upstarts. Valiant, frugal, and without aspiring to any other conveniences, or knowing any other necessities, beside those of pure Nature, they sometimes wage war, with the sole intention of enabling the Indian youths to profit, at the side of the elders, by their experience, and to learn the mode of carrying on the warfare successfully. This is accomplished, according to them, whenever they contrive to steal the cattle, and to intimidate the Spaniards; which latter aim they have recently effected, to the shameful extreme of proceeding to the heights adjacent to the principal settlements, to bid defiance to the inhabitants.

The mischiefs which these barbarians occasioned to the commerce of Peru, and the progress they made in disturbing the internal tranquillity of the country, claimed the attention of Don Francisco de Toledo, the then viceroy of these realms. To apply an efficacious remedy, such as should guard against every future disaster, he determined to form settlements in the vallies they inhabited, and which are now named Chichas y Tarija. For the execution of this task, he appointed Luis de

de Fuentes, a native of Andalusia, on whom he conferred the title of captain-general and president of justice, allowing him a retinue of fifty men. This title bears date in the city of la Plata, whither his excellency had proceeded to prosecute the general visitation he had undertaken, the 22d day of January, 1574; and the urgency of the measures that were adopted, may be estimated by the tenour of the clauses, which provided, that on the 28th of the same month, or sooner if possible, the expedition should set out.

Fuentes, who was justly considered as the Hernan Cortes of that part of South America, did not lose any time in devising the means of peopling the above vallies, to the end that they might serve as a barrier, and afford security to the roads of Peru, and to the bordering provinces. This man, who was certainly deserving of greater celebrity than he acquired, and of a better fate than the one which attended him, commenced his project by the adoption of measures that ought to have served, and should still serve as a rule to all conquerors. He occupied the principal valley, erected and peopled the city which is the capital of that district, and thence made war against the Indians. As soon as he had driven them to a convenient distance, he formed other settlements, such as Charaja, Concepcion, &c. until he had, by this method, succeeded in conquering and peopling, at one and the same time, an extent of fifty leagues of that abundant and fertile territory; and until the odious name of Chirihuanos was not heard in Peru, except by the reports from Tarija.

For the sake of humanity, it were to be wished that a circumstance which is painful to relate, and which shews the want of gratitude in the human heart, could be passed over in

in silence. This very man, this Luis de Fuentes, whether through the ordinary lot of conquerors, or because their achievements suffice for their reward, was engaged in so many disputes, relative to the distribution of the lands, by the inhabitants of the country which he himself had conquered, that he ended his days in the audience of Charcas, poor and overwhelmed with law-suits ; as happened to the hero of New Spain, Hernan Cortes, in the court of Charles V. But we will draw a veil over this melancholy scene, and, banishing it from our reflections, continue the historical series of the vicissitudes which have attended the population and political system of this province.

Before, however, we resume the thread of our narration, may we be permitted to introduce a short episode ? When the settlers who accompanied Fuentes in his glorious expedition, approached the valley, they found a wooden cross, hidden, as if purposely, in the most intricate part of the mountains. As there is not any thing more flattering to the vanity of a credulous man, than to be enabled to bring forward his testimony in the relation of a prodigy, the devotion of these good conquerors was kindled to such a degree, by the discovery of this sacred memorial, that they instantly hailed it as miraculous and divine. They accordingly carried it in procession to the town, and placed it in the church belonging to the convent of San Francisco, where it is still worshipped. It appears next to impossible that there should not, at that time, have been any individual among them sufficiently enlightened to combat such a persuasion ; since, in reality, there was nothing miraculous in the finding of this cross, there having been other Christian settlers, before the arrival of

Fuentes, in the same valley. The opinion, notwithstanding, that the discovery was altogether miraculous, instead of having been abandoned at the commencement, was confirmed still more and more with the progress of time. The Jesuits Antonio Ruiz and Pedro Lozano, in their respective histories of the missions of Paraguay, &c. undertook to demonstrate that the apostle St. Thomas had been in America. This thesis, which was so novel, and so well calculated to draw the public attention, required, more than any other, the aid of the most powerful reasons, and of the most irrefragable documents, to be able to maintain itself, even in an hypothetical sense ; but nothing of all this was brought forward. Certain miserable conjectures, prepossession, and personal interest, supplied the place of truth and criticism. The form of a human foot, which they fancied they saw imprinted on the rock, and the different fables of this description invented by ignorance at every step, were the sole foundations on which all the relations on this subject were made to repose. The one touching the peregrinations of St. Thomas from Brasil to Quito, must be deemed apocryphal*, when it is considered that

* In addition to what is said by the illustrious Feyjoo, in his discourse on supposed miracles, the Peruvian writer Macanaz combats very successfully the histories of Ruiz and Lozano, under the head of miraculous discoveries. But experience, still more than all these testimonies, teaches us to mistrust the relations of the Jesuits, on the subjects of missions and antiquities. The interest and credit of the society occasionally required the sacrifice of the truth, which they did not hesitate to make. The famous Chronicles of Flavius Dextrus, Marcus the Hermit, Luis Prando, &c. led the whole world into an error: it was represented that they had been found in the archives of the abbey of Fulda, at the same time that they were extracts, surreptitiously

that the above reverend fathers describe the apostle with the staff in the hand, the black cassock girt about the waist, and all the other trappings which distinguish the missionaries of the society. The credit which these histories obtained at the commencement, was equal to that bestowed on the cross of Tarija, which remained in the predicament of being the one St. Thomas had planted in person, in the continent of America.

Since the Holy Church, our mother, has not determined on the miraculous of this description, nor positively ordained its belief, we have judged it necessary to explain this point, as was indeed prescribed by the criterion of an historical relation. For this case, and for other similar ones, we venture to repeat what has been said by an unprejudiced and intelligent Spaniard* : *De las cosas mas seguras la mas segura es dudar*. But it is time that we should return to the especial purpose of our history, craving pardon for the prolixity of the digression we have been induced to make, in favour of truth and justice.

Among the fifty men who accompanied Fuentes, was a Dominican friar, named Francisco Sedano, who performed the function of chaplain, administering the sacrament to the Spaniards, and effecting, although with but little success, the conversion of the Chirihuanos. He founded a convent of his

tiously made, from father Geronimo, a romance of la Higuera. The men of letters who are acquainted with the motive which dictated the above histories, and the influence they had, in those times, on civil as well as political affairs, will justify the inductions we have been led to make on this head.

* Of the most certain things, the surest is to doubt.—*Don Pedro Montengon*, in his work entitled "*El Eusebio*."

order, and obtained from the conqueror a grant of a very considerable portion of land. The fervour of religion, and the advantages of a country naturally rich, induced the orders of St. Augustin, St. Francis, San Juan de Dios, and, lastly, of the Society of Jesus, to establish in the city of San Bernardo, the capital of the district, each of them a convent, for the maintenance of which they acquired many funds and pious bequests. One of the original MSS. we have before us, bearing the signature of Don Nicholas de Echalar, chief magistrate of police, says on this subject : “ By the means of these foundations posterity has been burdened with so many pensions and quit-rents, that the possessions may with truth be said to have been purchased five or six times, and still continue to pay the five per cent. ; insomuch, that by degrees the inhabitants have been impoverished, until they have not enough left for their advancement and preservation.” Another still more political MS. observes on the same head : “ With the successive impoverishment of the province, the foundations of the convents, which the first settlers had made at their own expence, have been so much reduced, that in neither of those of St. Domingo, St. Augustin, and San Juan de Dios, any other monk beside the prior is to be found. The convent of the Jesuits having been altogether suppressed, if it were not for the College for the Propagation of the Gospel, the inhabitants would not be able to frequent the service of the mass.”

In the above year, 1574, the viceroy appointed the ordinary alcaids, regidores, procurator, and major-domo, for the senate of San Bernardo de Tarija, which was then established ; and in the lapse of a century from that date, the province was
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in so flourishing a condition, that a procurator was appointed, and sent to the court of Madrid, to solicit of his Catholic Majesty various indulgences, and, among others, that of erecting the city of Tarija into a bishopric, annexing to the province the jurisdictions of Pilaya, Lipes, and Chichas, together with the towns of Cochinoca, Casavinda, and Huamahuaca. This grant was refused, notwithstanding it was exposed by the petitioners, that the inhabitants had remained without the sacrament of confirmation, in consequence of the episcopal visit not having been made for upwards of fifty years.

The population of Tarija, at the commencement, besides being on a very reduced scale, was but of an indifferent quality, on account of the privilege granted by the cabinet of Spain, to all those who should enter the province, to combat and settle, that they should not be prosecuted for any debts. It thus became the sanctuary of fraudulent bankrupts and unprincipled debtors. That it gradually improved both in numbers and condition, was equally owing to the resources of the country, and to the misfortunes which befel those in its vicinity. A plague of devouring insects, similar to that which, as a special punishment, was made to inundate the houses and plains of ancient Egypt, put to flight all the inhabitants of the city of Pilaya*, many of whom took up their abode in Tarija, and within the boundaries of the province. The

* The MS. which speaks of this plague, likewise ascribes it to the wrath of God, kindled against the Pilayans on account of their having treacherously murdered their priest. The misfortune which attended the mines of Lipes is accounted for in the same way ; although it may, perhaps, as well as the other event, have been the effect of a very natural cause.

same thing happened when the celebrated mines of Lipes were inundated, more particularly the one named, by antonomasia, the table of silver. The miners, abandoning the mountainous territory, came down to the valley, where they sought, in agricultural pursuits, a poorer, but more natural, and less precarious subsistence.

Among the distinguished personages who settled at Tarija, and honoured it with their residence, was Don Joseph Moreno de Peralta, the brother of our celebrated Peralta;—of that indefatigable writer, who, glowing with an ardent patriotism, undertook to emulate the eloquence of Xenophon, and the sweetness of Virgil, in describing the heroical deeds of his fellow-citizens, and in singing the foundation of his glorious country.

In the above-mentioned state of abundance and felicity, the province remained during the life of Luis de Fuentes, and beneath his fostering protection. Juan Porcel de Padilla, who inherited his titles, but not his virtues, proposed to the royal audience of la Plata, the conquest of the valley named *de las Salinas*, the last on the confines of the province, to which the Chirihuanos Indians had retired. He obtained the permission to form a settlement; and in the expedition which ensued, contrived, by the dint of much cruelty and violence, to give a certain degree of extension to the limits in that part. This was not, however, attended by any eventual benefit, either to the nation or to himself, and only served to render the Spanish name odious, and his own detestable. The Chirihuanos transmitted to their posterity the remembrance of the tyrannies exercised by Padilla, and the desire to avenge them. In the year 1727, they broke out into open hostilities, and made

made an irruption into the province, which they laid waste, on the pretext that an Indian of a distinguished class had been scourged with rods by the Jesuits. The pride of some, and the ignorance of others, prevented the pacific negotiations which might have been entered on with the Indians. Every thing was to be accomplished by the point of the lance ; and peace was to be purchased on no other condition than that of the extermination of the enemy. Don Antonio de Texerina, Don Juan de Echalar, Don Martin Ascue, &c. took the field at different times.

These expeditions resembled those of the ancient feudal governments of Europe ; each of the soldiers entering on the campaign, at his own cost, for a determinate number of days, and returning whenever he had exhausted the small store of provisions he had drawn from his necessitous abode. To explain this subject still better, they were undertaken without system, order, discipline, or subordination ; and having for their sole aim the ancient and deplorable mania of conquest, the soldiery penetrated into the territory occupied by the Indians, where they put to death or captured a few of them, as the fruit of their enterprize, and returned to their homes. It is by no means surprizing, that, in the prosecution of so irregular a plan, all the martial attempts should have been unsuccessful, and should not have produced any other effect beside that of impoverishing the country.

The useless desire to exterminate the Chirihuanos, and to subdue them by the dint of arms, was abandoned in Tarija several years ago. The love of humanity, philosophy, and the enlightened policy of the more recent governors, have dissipated the ideas of coercion and violence, and have succeeded
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in restraining, by gentle means, a nation which had constantly been the scourge of the province, on this very account, that the inhabitants held the arm raised, not merely for their own defence, but through motives of wrath and vengeance. These Indians now blend with the songs of their past triumphs, encomiastic hymns to manifest their gratitude, and to record the memory of those who have not only given them peace, but have impressed on all sides the conviction, that it is not politic to break it. How flattering to the ears of the enlightened Spaniards, of the monarch, and of all Europe, will be the echo of the pacific strains the Chirihuanos repeats, and the harmonious concert with which they are answered, from the kingdom of Chile, by the Araucanos, Pehuenches, and Wiliches, who acknowledge that they are at this time indebted for equal benefits, to their president Don Ambrosio Higgins ! Here our imagination is exalted, and our pen can scarcely abstain from enthusiasm ! Would that we could transmit to the public the agitation of our spirit, and the vehement impulse of the divinity which possesses us, to the end that it might view with complacency the new episode we introduce, to inculcate the sacred rights of man, the blessings of peace, the love the Indian claims from us, and the small share of merit which attends the blood-stained triumph over men, untameable but naked, who purchase their freedom at the dear price of living in the rude forests, a prey to penury and want ! We now proceed to the chorographical description of the province of Chichas y Tarija, that being our principal aim.

Hitherto we have considered these two departments in the same point of view, because they constitute one and the same government ; but in this sketch it is necessary to divide them
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topographically. The department of Chichas lies to the N. N. E. of Potosi, in the intendency of which it is comprehended, and by which it intersects the royal road of Buenos Ayres. Its length, from north to south, is forty-eight leagues, from the small river of Quiaca, a branch of the Tucuman, to Quirve, on the confines of Porco. Its breadth, from east to west, is a hundred leagues, from Esmoraca, in the department of Lipes, on the western side, to Chuquiaca, the station of the mission of las Salinas, belonging to the missionaries of Tarija, on the banks of the river San Juan, which separates it from that province.

Its principal rivers are the Toropalca and the Tarija, which, having received the Pilcomayo and the Bermejo, on the confines that divide the two provinces, take a northern direction, and enter the territory occupied by the Chirihuanos, thence proceeding to incorporate themselves with the river of la Plata. This department contains nine parochial districts, five of which are situated in la Puna, and the remaining four in the vallies of Tarija. The former properly constitute its division; but the latter are most abundant in wood and corn.

The first parochial district of la Puna is Tolina, in a country intersected by small streams, which bears the same name. It is distant from Potosi seventy leagues; affords a small produce of maize and wheat, and contains several gold mines, which are, however, gone to decay, through the ignorance of the mode of separating the metal from the ore, and for want of the funds requisite to work them. Its inhabitants, consisting of Indians and mestizos, derive the greater part of their subsistence from the transport of merchandizes.

Tupiza, in a territory of the same description, is distant

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from Potosi sixty leagues, and is the capital of the department. Its inhabitants, among whom are many Spaniards, are supported by the gold and silver mines of Choroma, Estarca, and other districts : they likewise act as carriers. Its agriculture, which finds a greater impediment in the local disposition of the territory, than in the temperature of the air, scarcely affords a small portion of maize, wheat, and papas*.

At the side of Tupiza, and on the same parallel respectively to Potosi, lies the third parochial district, denominated Gran-Chocaya, in a temperature very similar to that of Pasco†. It contains several good mines, which are, however, but little wrought, on account of the want of Spaniards. It abounds in sheep and huanacos ; but in other respects the soil is unproductive, insomuch, that it derives the greater part of its subsistence from the succours afforded by the fertility of the adjacent spots of territory.

Santiago de Cotagaita is distant thirty-four leagues from Potosi, whither its inhabitants convey the produce of the charcoal they burn. By this branch of traffic, which is highly profitable, and by the carriage of goods, they are enabled to subsist. Its position, which lies between a river and a swampy tract on the route of Buenos Ayres, is incommodious ; but it boasts a benign temperature. Its population is very numerous, and consists principally of mestizos, with a few Spaniards and Indians.

The fifth and last parochial district of la Puna is Calcha, distant from Potosi twenty leagues. Its native inhabitants

* Potatoes.

† See p. 61, et sequent.

apply themselves to the culture of the lands, the property of which they hold in inheritance. They sow them with maize, wheat, and barley, in a quantity which scarcely suffices, however, for their maintenance. They cultivate in the same manner the small hills which lie on the skirts of their district, and from which they procure their charcoal. In these two employments they are every industrious, and enjoy, in consequence, a greater proportion of affluence than the other inhabitants of the province.

Although Esmoraca is annexed to the parochial district of Santa Isabel, in the department of Lipes, it is the constant residence of the priest who presides over the *doctrina*, or community of civilized Indians, and is comprehended in the jurisdiction of the department of Chichas. This small place, and the one adjacent to it, named Cerrillos, yield an abundance of silver, and a small proportion of gold of a very fine quality.

In Vitoche, a town belonging to the jurisdiction of the parochial district of Calcha, eighteen leagues distant from Potosi, leather, in imitation of the Spanish, is manufactured with great success, and in a quantity which suffices for the population of all the surrounding districts. This branch of industry affords the inhabitants a regular commerce, and a decent support. There are many flocks of goats, which are reared with infinite care, on account of their skins being best adapted to the above manufacture.

From fifty to sixty thousand marks of silver, and about a hundred thousand piastres in gold, are, on an average estimate, annually extracted from the mines, in the above dependencies. This amount the inhabitants exchange for herds, corn, wood, and other productions drawn from the side of Tarija, the territory of which is separated from the rest of the

department by several rugged mountains, similar to those of the Pyrenees.

When the traveller has journied about a hundred leagues from Pasco, in a northern direction, he quits these snow-clad mountains, and, having descended several steep hills, which may more properly be named precipices, enters the delightful vallies of Tarija. Here it would require the pen of Fenelon, to describe the serenity of the sky, the fine temperature of the air, the beauty and fertility of the soil, the abundance of the waters, &c. ; but as we do not possess his sublime eloquence, we shall confine ourselves to the observation, that, according to all we have seen, heard, and read, of the two Americas, there is not any other province which can be brought in comparison with the country of which we treat. *There* may be found wheat, maize, and all the other productions essential to the sustenance of man, together with the tree which yields the herb of Paraguay, the cocoa, the vine, and the flax which is sown in the district named la Recoleta, merely for the purpose of gathering the seeds. If the abundance of the produce be not proportionate to the fecundity of these vallies, it is either on account of the want of application of those who reside in them, or through the poverty of the circumjacent departments of Lipes and Chichas, which cannot make any considerable demands for the productions. The stores which reward the labours of the cultivator, may, however, be deemed sterility, when compared with what the lands occupied by the Chirihuanos, and other tribes of free Indians, might be made to yield. Those who have seen them, give a description of them similar to the one made to Moses by those who first explored the Land of Promise. The most noticeable circumstance, in these

these regions, is the ratio of the propagation of the human species, which is such, that, either through the defect of a sufficient space, or because it is not satisfied with the limits of the conquered territory, it proceeds, by a constant emigration, to people the province of Tucuman.

That of Tarija is bounded, on the south, by the jurisdiction of Juxui; on the north, by that of the cities of Pilaya and Pispaya, which were formerly very flourishing, but are now, according to report, in a ruinous condition; on the west, by the plains inhabited by the unconquered Indians; and on the east, by the very considerable river named San Juan, which separates it from the department of Chichas, and the vale of Cinti. It is divided into four parochial districts, namely, San Bernardo de Tarija, San Lorenzo, which was formerly named Old Tarija, la Concepcion, and Chahuaya.

San Bernardo, a city peopled by Spaniards, has a secular administration, a mother church, and the four convents which have been already pointed out. It is situated in a delightful plain, well supplied with water, and occupies a perfectly level surface. The adjacent territory is extremely fertile, but is exclusively applied to the culture of maize, and the rearing of herds of swine. This produce is, as well as the woods that are felled, and other commercial objects of a similar nature, expended in la Sierra.

San Lorenzo, at the foot of the mountains, distant ninety-seven leagues from Potosi, and three from Tarija, enjoys a similar temperature and fertility. Its territory, comprehending a part of la Puna, was originally regulated at about twelve square leagues. Much as it has been since augmented, it has a competent population of Spaniards. At the commencement,
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the parochial districts that have been named, were the only ones the department contained ; but at the end of a few years it became necessary to subdivide this last, on account of the increase of territory, and of the settlers it constantly received, either as the result of the new conquests, or of the emigrations from the bordering provinces. Agreeably to its present extent, it comprehends the frontier of las Salinas, distant twenty-five leagues from the principal town.

La Concepcion was erected into a parochial district by the effect of the above-mentioned disjunction. The progress of time, and the increase of settlers, produced afterwards the same necessity of a subdivision. In this district are situated the extensive vineyards of Angostura, Misericordia, &c. which yield wines of an excellent quality, partly for exportation, but chiefly consumed in the province.

Chahuaya, which formerly constituted a part of the preceding parochial district, lies at the extremity of the department. It has two appendages, one of them named Padcaya, where the rector finds it convenient to reside ; and the other, the valley of Bermejo, which extends in a right line to a distance of ten leagues, and, proportionally, in a western direction, to the valley of Tariquea, where a few fugitive Indians, who belonged to the missions destroyed in the insurrection of 1727, already referred to, have sought an asylum. The valley of Bermejo is indifferently peopled ; but there is still room for new settlers, who would do well to make it their residence, in following up the pursuits of husbandry. It has a circumference of from twenty-five to thirty leagues ; its temperature is warm and moist ; and it is adapted to the rearing of cattle, as well as to the culture of olives, canes, and a variety of plants
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and productions which are not to be found in the other parts of the dependency of Tarija. This valley extends in the same direction with the mission of las Salinas, by which it is protected; and is distant ten leagues only from the above-mentioned appendage of Padcaya.

As throughout the whole extent of the department of Tarija, the natural fertility of the soil affords, without the aid of man, abundant pastures, a great number of herds of cattle and flocks of sheep are reared. In proportion as the different breeds are augmented, they are driven to the confine, and sold to the inhabitants of the province of Cinti. The annual transports of black cattle alone are computed at little less than ten thousand heads, which are valued at from eight to ten piastres each; and the cattle are no sooner slaughtered, than an advantage is taken of the hides, which are tanned and prepared on the frontier itself. In this manner, Potosi, Chuquisaca, and the surrounding departments, are supplied with sole-leather to a very considerable amount, each of the tanned hides producing at least four piastres, notwithstanding the imports of that article from Cochabamba are equally great. The demands for Spanish and colonial merchandizes annually exceed sixty thousand piastres; and the returns for these imports are made in territorial productions, and other effects drawn from the province.

Amid these advantages, the inhabitants of the valley of Tarija are extremely poor, on account of their propensity to idleness. Relying on the comparative facility with which their subsistence is procured, they spend their days beneath the shade of their huts, in imitation of the inhabitants of Tucuman. The ridiculous notions relative to the distinguished nobility

bility of their progenitors, which have taken a strong hold of them, contribute greatly to maintain them in this state of indolence and inaction. It is distressing to humanity to see a senate, free from the controul of a particular governor, such as ought to reside in this province distinctly from that of Potosi, forget the paternal cares requisite to the welfare of the community, and employ itself solely in disputes respecting the degree of pre-eminence which each of the members fancies to correspond with his illustrious origin. The women, however, to their praise be it spoken, are not devoid of industry. Endued with much chastity, and possessed of a tolerable share of beauty (if a vigorous form, a lofty stature, and the carmine which glows on their cheeks, can be so denominated), they imitate the females of Catalonia and Gallicia, in an alternate application to the laborious employments of the field, and the domestic labours of the distaff and the shuttle. They fabricate a kind of stuff, either plain or figured, of which they form *chuces*, carpets, and other articles of domestic utility.

The rivers by which it is intersected, contribute greatly to the fertility of this valley. That of San Juan, which separates the province of Tarija from Chichas and the vale of Cinti, after having descended by the centre of the former of these provinces, takes a circuitous course, at Livi-Livi, from south to north, and flows until it unites with the river which originates in the above-mentioned valley of Cinti. This junction having been effected, it makes a new bend towards the west, and is denominated the river of Pilaya, until it meets with the Pilcomayo, the name of which it assumes in its progress through the centre of the territory inhabited by the unconquered Indians. The Guadalquivir rises in the northern part
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of the cordillera to which an allusion has already been made, and passing through the centre of the parochial district of San Lorenzo, descends to the city of that name, where its water, having lost its pureness and transparence, is no longer potable. Continuing its progress, it flows into the valley of la Concepcion, a league below the town. Another small river, which may with more propriety be named a torrent, has its source in the southern part of the same cordillera, whence it is precipitated into the province of Tucuman, and, in its descent, supplies with a portion of its waters the Chahuaya tribe, from which it receives its name, until at length it unites with the Guadalquivir in the most level part of the district of la Concepcion. The last river to be cited, proceeds from the centre of the above-mentioned cordillera, together with other streams which traverse the dependency of Tolomosa ; and is named Bermejo. After having, in its progress, incorporated itself with the Guadalquivir, it takes the name of the river of Tarija. At the distance of a few leagues from its confluence it forces its passage through a strait, and having traversed the mountains, discharges itself below the mission of las Salinas, whence it passes in the vicinity of Salta, &c. and proceeds to the celebrated plains of Manco, known by the name of Gran Chaco, seeking the Parahuay*, having already resumed its primitive name of Bermejo, and receiving the contents of other smaller streams. These different rivers, the latter even, which is by far the most considerable, have not any influence on the conveniences of life and commerce of the provinces

* Father Maccioni, in his history, asserts, that before it loses itself in that river, it receives the waters of the Juxui.

through which they pass, their windings, confluences, and the places where they discharge themselves, not having been well ascertained. Don Fernandez Cornejo, a colonel of militia resident in the city of Salta, one of those true and zealous patriots who do honour to the nation and to the age, projected a fluviatric voyage, to be undertaken at his own expence, with a view to ascertain whether the Bermejo is navigable from the province of Tucuman to the spot where it empties itself into the Parahuay. Ignorance, envy, calumny, and treachery, those malignant geniuses which take a barbarous delight in opposing and throwing obstacles in the way of great enterprizes, made their utmost efforts to defeat the execution of this one. Their aim was, however, frustrated ; since its author obtained, for the accomplishment of his purpose, a powerful and extraordinary aid, such as is without any example in the history of the two Americas. Donna Josefa Menono, the lady of Don Nicolas de Arredondo, viceroy of Buenos-Ayres, took under her protection both the project and the consequences which might result from it. Cornejo, sheltered and encouraged by this distinguished patronage, imposed silence on his enemies, overcame every obstacle, and commenced his expedition on the 27th day of June, 1790. The place from which he took his departure is a small haven or bay, formed by the river Bermejo at its confluence with the Centa. He embarked on board a kind of xebeck, with a crew of twenty-six persons, partly soldiers and partly seamen, distributed in his vessel, and in the two canoes which followed and composed the armament. After a navigation of forty-four days, he reached the spot where the Bermejo disembogues itself into the Paraguay, twenty-four leagues to the north of the city of
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las-Corrientes, having performed a distance of three hundred and eighty-two leagues without encountering the smallest obstacle.

When a more perfect knowledge of this navigation shall have been practically acquired, a saving may be made of nearly the one half of the time occupied by the present attempt, which must necessarily have been attended by a variety of short delays, although there was neither impediment nor risk in any part of the passage*. In the interim, this discovery affords great advantages to the commercial intercourse of Paraguay with the provinces of Tucuman and Peru, the productions having been hitherto transported on the back of mules, with great delays, and at a heavy expence.

If our Mercury should have the good fortune to find access among the cultivated nations of Europe, and should survive the lapse of the present age, it will be proud to have transmitted to the world, and to posterity, the name and elevated conceptions of the illustrious protectress of this undertaking. To an august female† America was first indebted for her exploration : to another, not of so elevated a rank, but equally

* To be more fully persuaded, that, in practising this navigation, not any embarrassment is to be found, the map of the missions, published by father Joseph Quiroga, in 1749, may be consulted. It should be observed, that the river of las Conchas, the port at which the merchandizes sent from Paraguay to Buenos-Ayres arrive, is distant from that city five or six leagues ; and that, from the spot where the river Bermejo empties itself into the Paraguay, there is but an inconsiderable distance to the city of Assumption, the capital of the province.

† Queen Isabel.

beneficent and heroical, Tucuman, Tarija, &c. will owe the inestimable advantages of this new discovery. Cornejo, in a less extensive field, rivals Columbus in valour and success. We have not to dread that he will encounter the same disappointments: the age is more just, at the same time that men are more accustomed to view heroes near to them, and to hear, without incredulity, and without surprize, the relation of their exploits.

If we could lay before our readers the MSS. which have served as the basis of this chorographical description, we should be enabled to satisfy them that the geographer can rarely avail himself of documents of equal authenticity. The greater part of them have been drawn up by enlightened individuals, who have surveyed, step by step, every part of the ground, and who know, both intuitively and analytically, the situation and resources of the country. With these premises, we flatter ourselves that the estimable author of the Geographical Dictionary of America, will not be displeased at the many amplifications and corrections this article of his work has been subjected to. It would have been much more exact, if to his great theoretical notions, he could have added a still greater share of that practical information which the ancients required of their historians.

Having examined the province of Chichas y Tarija in whatever relates to its history, local situation, and commercial relations, we shall now proceed to touch on a few particulars which refer to its natural history. One of the principal of these is the disease, or furious madness, as it is termed by Dr. Cosme Bueno, which attacks both men and
beasts,

beasts*, in the town of Tatasi, belonging to the department of Chichas. On the first access of this frenzy, there are not sufficient powers to restrain the unfortunate victim, who, forgetful of all shame and human necessity, forsakes his bed, flees from the habitations of men, runs impetuously over the mountains in the environs, and, rushing from precipice to precipice, at length hurls himself from the summit of the steep rock. It usually happens that, in falling from a considerable height, he is bruised to death; but if, by a rare casualty, he survives, in proportion as he recovers his bodily health, the mental powers return to their just equilibrium, and there is no longer any vestige of this terrible malady. We shall not undertake to decide whether the effluvia from the mines of that territory, which are very prone to commotions, are in any manner the cause of this phenomenon; or whether, which is more probable, it is owing to the natural temperament of the inhabitants of the country: it is certain that it occurs with much frequency.

This passage has so great an analogy to the one we find in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid, and in all the other mythological authors, relative to the leap from the rock of Leucate, that the one seems to have served as the archetype of the other. Who can say whether the whole of this fable, in its origin, had any other foundation beside that of the concurrence of several facts similar to those which are witnessed in Chichas?

* Experience has demonstrated, that the animals originally brought from Europe, such as horses, oxen, sheep, &c. are the only ones affected by this malady, to which those that are natural to the country, such as the vicunas, huanacos, &c. are not liable.

We, at least, are inclined to be of this opinion, and do not hesitate to add, that the spirit of system can never lead to the true understanding of the primitive derivation of antique fables. To endeavour to deduce the whole of them from the same class of circumstances, is a nugatory and useless undertaking. The greater part of the extravagances of father Hardouin emanated from this principle; and if the celebrated Bianchini discovers a weak part in his Universal History, it is because he endeavoured to adhere tenaciously to a system, which could not, by itself alone, explain all the different vicissitudes of antiquity in the historical and traditional part*. Each of the fables may repose partially on a fact, or on a preconceived opinion; and it is indifferent whether it originated in Palestine, Egypt, or Greece.

In the sides and small level spaces of the mountains situated at the entrance of the province of Tarija, where the Indians inhumed the dead bodies, petrifications of bones, the most prodigious that Nature can furnish, are to be found. In one of the MSS. which have been transmitted to us, an individual residing in that province communicates the following fact: "In digging," he observes, "at the base of a hill, in the descent to Tascora, I met with a hard substance, which appeared to be of stone, of a colour between grey and yellow. I

* This Jesuit refused all belief to the profane history of antiquity, which he derived entirely from the sacred writings. Bianchini, a celebrated historian, astronomer, and mathematician, proposed to fill up the void spaces which are to be found in the profane history of the ages anterior to the war of Troy, by an absolute exclusion of the helps afforded by the sacred text. Is it possible, that, in matters of fact, the truth should be found by two paths diametrically opposite to each other?

had it carefully removed from the earth; and after it had been freed from the soil, and washed, it seemed to have lost a part of its dusky hue, and had the shape and appearance of the *ulna*, the larger bone of the fore-arm of a man. Its length, however, was two yards and five inches, which circumstance excited the admiration of all present, and of myself more especially, whose intention it was to send it to the archbishop of Chuquisaca, as an object of singular curiosity. I was unable to do this; since, in my endeavour to bind it up for carriage, it fell from my hands, and brake in four pieces. In my rage, I threw the fragments from the side of the hill into the valley beneath.”—Father Francisco Gonzales Laguna, ex-provincial of the order of *Clerigos Agonizantes*, correspondent of the royal botanical garden, and superintendent of the objects of natural history sent from Peru, had in his possession, and has consequently remitted to the royal cabinet of natural history of Madrid, a petrified tooth, very perfect in its configuration, which weighed five pounds three ounces, and was found on the heights of Escayache, in the department of Taraja. We have at this time before us a tooth, one of the incisors, of the size of a clenched hand, in the same manner petrified and perfect, which was found in a moor in the vicinity of the mission of las Salinas.

However superficially these petrifications may be considered, it must appear evident that they cannot belong to human bones. To the end that they should be deemed of that description, it would be necessary to suppose the possibility of the fabulous generation of the Titans, who scaled the heavens to dethrone Jupiter. We are but little aided by conjectures, in the belief that they are the fragments of the skeleton of some enormous quadruped.

quadruped. South America has never known, nor does it at this time know, either the elephant, the rhinoceros, or any other animal of equal bulk. All those which have originated in this continent, do not attain the size of a horse. The peregrinations of the elephants, which Buffon introduces* into the system of the creation and population of the universe, are contrived with great ingenuity, but are devoid of all probability, and have fallen into universal discredit, more particularly since the learned abbé Baruel has demonstrated their absurdities and incongruities. One of our associates has drawn up a short dissertation, in which he endeavours to give a certain degree of plausibility to the conjecture, that the thickness of similar petrifications may be the effect of a repeated supraposition of lapideous substances, assimilated with the bodies which served them as a basis, and which may have acquired their present exuberant growth, by the means of a vegetation similar to that which many naturalists allow to stones.

Amid the difficulties and incoherences which present themselves, in the investigation of the origin and quality of these enormous petrifications, it will not appear extraordinary that we should leave the question undecided, while we refuse to adhere to the opinion, so generally received in the age of credulity, that they are the bones of some marine monster, deposited in the swampy grounds of Tarija at the time of the universal deluge, and gradually petrified by the means of those lapidific juices which are generally recognized in Nature. To conclude :—the learned will form on this subject the systems which may appear to them to be most susceptible of com-

* In his Treatise on the Epochs of Nature.

bination,

bination, while we prosecute our inquiries relative to the topography of different parts of the Peruvian territory.

PLAN FOR GAINING ACCESS TO, AND PEOPLING, THE ANDES MOUNTAINS
OF THE PROVINCE OF GUAMALIES, PROPOSED AND SET ON FOOT BY
DON JUAN DE BEZARES.

THIS distinguished patriot, a native of the city of Old Castille, and a respectable merchant of Lima, being on the eve of departing for his own country, with a capital of thirty thousand piastres acquired in commerce, accidentally met with a Spaniard who had for a long time led a savage life among the Indians of the Andes mountains bordering on Guamalties. By this individual he was made acquainted with the extent and fertility of those tracts of territory, hidden from the view and knowledge of civilized man, without being inaccessible; together with the valuable vegetable and mineral productions which might be thence extracted for the common benefit; and, more particularly, with the opportunity which presented itself, to exercise the most commendable charity, by collecting a multitude of fugitive Indians, who, having been driven from the eminences and missions, dwelt in the forests in a semi-pagan state. He exposed the facility of enticing them, if, in addition to the introduction of a few products and implements of agriculture, conjoined with a prudent management, they were to be directed by a priest of known probity, who should aid them with his spiritual instructions, by which they were very anxious to profit. He added, that many of them were already collected near the banks of the river Huallaga, the nature and quality of which territory afforded the

possibility of forming vast plantations of cacao and other valuable productions, insomuch that, by the subsequent reduction of the Pampa (plain) del Sacramento, the emporium of the greatest prodigies of Nature, the monarch would possess a new kingdom, and Peru the interests she had sought for the space of two centuries, but had not obtained, in consequence of the injudicious mode pursued in subjugating the savage tribes. He spake with the confidence of one who had been many years an eye witness of the facts, and with an energy which the sincerity, piety, and generous feelings of Bezares could not resist.

Although the latter was not possessed of sufficient testimonies respecting the accuracy of this information, he devoted two thousand piastres of his capital to an attempt which should enable him to come at the truth, and fix his determination. He was not backward in following the traces of his informer, carrying with him the implements and commodities best adapted to promote the views of the little colony named Chicoplaya. He was also provided with the necessary sacred ornaments and vessels, images, and two portable bells, with which to commence divine worship without any delay. He made his entry by Guamalies in the year 1785, and with much difficulty penetrated, by the banks of the river Monzon, to Chicoplaya, where he was not a little gratified to find the establishment his companion had announced, although in a very deplorable condition. Observing the distress under which the colony laboured for want of a priest, he appointed a friar of the Order of Mercy, by whom he was accompanied, to fill that function, to which he annexed a salary of six hundred piastres. This act of benevolence was followed by a general offer,

offer, on the part of the Indians, to assist in the construction of a chapel, an undertaking which, by the means of the wood of an excellent quality the country afforded, was executed on a large scale. The chapel having been beautified and adorned in a manner which, in a similar situation, surpassed every reasonable conjecture, and opened for divine worship, Bezares was utterly negligent of his own immediate interests. He ceded to the Indians, without binding them by any agreement, the implements of husbandry he had brought with him, and supplied them with seeds for the esculent crops that might enable them to secure to themselves a comfortable subsistence, on which the ulterior arrangements were to depend. These good offices, and the affability of their benefactor, drew down the acclamations of all : they made him a voluntary tender of their services ; and their loud expressions of gratitude penetrated to the mountains, whence many of those who inhabited them like wild beasts having been allured, partook of the labours, and recognized the God who had already been banished from their remembrance.

Enamoured with the extent and fecundity of this unexplored country, and highly flattered by so propitious a commencement, Bezares resolved to make a further sacrifice of his property, and was solely deterred by the difficulty of the access, which was such, that if the mule on which he was mounted succeeded in penetrating, it was not without infinite trouble and perplexity, at the same time that the novelty of the sight occasioned the Indians of Chicoplaya to flee, as if they had encountered a ferocious beast. Leaving them at length to prosecute their labours, he retrograded on foot in search of a track by which the herds and flocks might be con-

ducted ; and after having climbed mountains, descended into abysses, penetrated forests, and gained heights at the manifest risk of falling from the precipices they presented, he finally met, not only with a convenient site for the opening of a road, but also with many rivulets and streams, spacious plains, vestiges of ancient towns, immense pastures, abandoned plantations, dormant mines, and, above all, with mountains thickly covered with the *cinchona*, or quina tree*, the existence of which had never been ascertained in that territory†. In a word, he saw before him an unexplored country, capable of becoming a new province, richer than many of those that are peopled. He afterwards ascertained, that upwards of twenty towns, now in ruins, had been built by the missionaries belonging to the Order of Jesus, by whom that conquest had been made; their capitals having been Chavin de Pariaca, Monzon, and Chapacra. The first of these places, being situated on this side of the Cordillera, still subsists, as is

* *Cinchona officinalis*, *Lin.*—Peruvian bark.

† This will not appear extraordinary, when it is considered that a century and a half had elapsed, after the arrival of Columbus in America, when the first discovery of the quina was made. This happened in the year 1638, under the viceroyalty of Count de Cinchon, whose lady then laboured under an obstinate tertian fever. The corregidor of Loxa, to whom an Indian had just revealed the virtues of this remedy, having been informed of the countess's illness, sent to Lima a packet of the powdered quina, which was successfully administered by the physician in chief, Juan de Vega, who was likewise captain of the armory. On the expiration of his government, in 1639, the count carried with him a quantity of the pulverized bark to Spain, where it was named the countess's powder. The Jesuits conveyed another parcel to Rome, bestowing a portion on Cardinal de Lugo, and distributing the rest gratuitously; on which account it was named by some, the powder of the reverend fathers, and by others, the cardinal's powder.

proved

proved by its fine church ; the second contains twelve families only ; and the third is, as well as Ascension and the other towns, in a ruinous and abandoned state. It also appeared that, it having been the intention of these missionaries to prosecute their spiritual conquest towards the north, they had, in the year 1580, taken the customary possession of these towns*, which had been afterward laid waste by repeated irruptions of the barbarians, with the exception of Chavin, which had been protected by its situation. It thus happened that this country fell into oblivion, Monzon excepted, whither an image of our lady, left by the Jesuits, attracted a few settlers†, and where many of the inhabitants of the mountains still meet in pilgrimage, on the day of the festival of the blessed Virgin.

The cinchona trees having been examined, and having been found to be of the species named *negrilla*‡, reputed to be of the best quality, Bezares perceived that he could carry his project into effect. He accordingly gave notice of his discovery, and offered to treat with those who would undertake to cut the bark. For this purpose he engaged various individuals residing on the frontiers and mountains, and several even belonging to the capital, who have been constantly engaged until this time, in the process of decorticating the trees, from which they have extracted thousands of arrobas of bark. With this resource, and with the assistance of a sufficient number of

* This information is derived from various tablets found in the churches which still exist, as well as from several grants of land made at the time, and in the name of the above missionaries.

† This tradition of the ancient inhabitants of the country, has not been controverted.

‡ Yielding the red bark.

labourers,

labourers, he came to a resolution to open the road at his own expence, so as to give a new vigour to the province, and to reap all the advantages he had figured to himself at the commencement, but which were not obtainable without this mean. Having drawn up a map of the territory, he presented his project to the viceroy, whom he beseeched to further its execution by the most seasonable aid. In enforcing his pretensions, he represented :

“ That the mountains and towns situated to the south of the river Marañon, in the part contained between Pataz, Guamalies, Huanuco, and the Pampa del Sacramento, having been abandoned for two centuries ; and he having witnessed with his own eyes a great part of the grandeur of that territory, its fertility, good temperature, and the riches it is susceptible of producing, not inferior to what he had always imagined, and which had never been obtained from the other mountains of those Andes, notwithstanding the multiplied expeditions undertaken, the immense sums drawn from the royal treasury, and the many missionaries and troops who had there perished ; entirely on account of not having cleared the roads of access ; of having proceeded with more zeal than prudence ; of having had recourse to gratuitous erogations, which constantly produce, in the breast of the Indian, dread and anxiety when the tribute is collected by one part of the community, and avarice, jealousy, and bloodshed, when the other part is deficient ; and more particularly in consequence of not having adopted the maxim of other nations, by the introduction of the *cange*, or commerce, as has been seen in Canada, Batavia, Kamschatka, Paru on the side of the Marañon, and other foreign colonies ; by the means of which the
barbarians

barbarians having been first civilized, might be afterwards made to conform to the good example of the missionaries and other devout persons, and thus become Christians;—that having already found that those who are dispersed in these forests, where they lead an erratic life, are all of them well disposed to any industrious pursuit which may yield them a little profit, and enable them to follow up their religious duties; and that, in the progress of time, and with their aid, it would be easy to entice the inhabitants of the mountains, to the great advantage of religion, and of the state: on these considerations he proposed to open, at his own expence, a wide and commodious road, from the town of Tantamayo to the bridge of Chinchima, the most rugged part of the frontier, forming grazing grounds and plantations, introducing herds and flocks, re-constructing some of the towns which have been destroyed, and continuing the route in this way, by the banks of the river Monzon, to the haven of Chicoplaya, thus securing the navigation of the river Huallaga to the Marañon*, and, consequently, the trade which may be carried on with Lamas, Mainas, and Quixos. And that, the better to carry his project into effect, in case it should be adopted, the political ju-

* Although the inhabitants of Lamas had frequently made this voyage in their canoes, not a Spaniard could be found to venture on it until the year 1776, when it was undertaken by the governor of that place, Don Nicholas Renxifo, who proceeded to Huanuco, whence he returned to Lamas by the same river. Among those who have since performed this voyage, may be cited friar Manuel de Sobreviela, guardian of the college of Ocopa, who has recently proceeded to the lake, as will be seen hereafter in his very interesting travels. His companion entered the Marañon, and descended to the outlet of the Uxayale, in front of the Omaguas. The Pastaza is likewise navigable to the vicinity of Quito.

risdiction of the whole of the district of the *doctrina* of Chavin should be conceded to him, with permission to employ, without the risk of incurring any penalty, all those who should be essential to the operations, he binding himself to pay, for them, the royal tribute which might be due from each of them respectively, &c."

The project having been approved in its full extent, the viceroy, Don Teodoro de Croix, by a commission bearing date the 11th of October, 1788, bestowed on Bezares the appointment of chief magistrate of Chavin de Pariaca and its district, without any salary, for the term of two years, during which a judgment would be formed of the nature and success of his operations. He was enjoined to give an account of them monthly to the supreme authority, to the end that his juridical authority might be protracted and extended according to the circumstances.

By virtue of this decree, Bezares took possession of his new government, to the great satisfaction of the settlers and aggregated Indians, who were well acquainted with his estimable qualities. They all of them made an offer to co-operate in the execution of so desirable a project, which would constitute the whole of their felicity. In addition to a large stock of implements, a complete forge had been provided, together with the necessary artisans; and on the 25th of April, 1789, the road was begun at the old town named Urpis, which was considered as the most convenient site for that purpose. Huge trees having been felled, hills of limestone broken up, rugged mountains cut through, palisadoes planted, and the earth raised and banked in the hollow places named *sartenejas*, the works were carried to the bridge of Chinchima over the river Monzon. At
• this

this spot terminated eleven leagues of a wide road, capable of admitting, without the smallest risk, mules and droves of cattle, and completed in ten months only, by so small a number as a hundred men, constantly employed, and stimulated to fulfil their engagement by ample encouragement. In this district three bridges were built, one over the river named Santa Rosa, another over the Yanamayo, and the third over the stream Xincartambo. A lake denominated Negrococha, which was a great obstacle to the passage, was drained: the Indians, impressed with an old and superstitious belief, that of three who should attempt to cross, one would be drowned, would not venture on the trial, each dreading least he should be the unfortunate third, the one doomed to destruction. The grounds having been cleared for that purpose, a variety of esculent grains were planted; and this was followed by the introduction of a herd of cattle, which, as there is an abundance of good pasturages, at the same time that there are not, in the whole of that territory, any of the larger tribes of venomous creatures, afford, to the new settlers, the prospect of a prodigious increase.

We must not omit the discoveries made, in this undertaking, to the advantage of the public, and of natural history. Bezares met with a description of very lofty trees, the wood of which is unknown, but valuable, not only because, with all its solidity, it yields with equal suppleness to the plane and the chisel; but likewise on account of its semi-violet colour, by which it appears to be, in preference to any other wood, adapted to the purpose of dyeing. He found another tree which produces, in the shoots of its branches, a resinous substance in grains, of a greenish hue, which, as he proved it

to be an effectual substitute for sealing-wax, is apparently calculated for many uses. A kind of ozier or willow, which grows in this territory, is deemed by the Indians a specific in complaints of the bowels, and is named by them *calenture*, because, in employing its decoction in cases of the most violent rheumatic affections, the patient is subjected for three or four hours to a violent fever, which, terminating in a copious perspiration, leaves him free from every ailment. The few trials of this remedy which have been made, have been extremely successful against siphylis; and if the practical inquiries that have been recently instituted should correspond with them, cures may be effected by the means of one of the most surprising simples for which medicine is indebted to the American continent. The production of a worm, which the Indians name *sustillo*, and by which a paper, very similar to that made in China, is fabricated, has been hitherto unknown to all the naturalists*. Lastly, Bezares discovered that which has

* Even the great Reaumur included, there is not one of them who makes mention, either of this caterpillar, or of its production. Father Calancha alone, in his Augustinian History of Peru (lib. i. p. 66), gives an account of it, and observes, that it is peculiar to the valley of Pampateco, now Pampantico, in the vicinity of the Panatuas, now Panataguas, at a small distance from Huanuco, and ten days' journey from Lima, where the Jesuits built the town of Ascension. This is properly the site discovered by Bezares. Calancha adds, that he had in his possession a leaf of this paper, inscribed by father Alonso Gomez, and addressed to father Lucas Salazar, who was assured by his correspondent, that it was cut from a piece a yard and a quarter in length, and that there were other pieces which measured a yard and three-quarters, &c. Next follow the details relative to the mode the worm pursues in weaving the paper. The loss of the towns above referred to, and the scarcity of Calancha's work, buried in oblivion the discovery and remembrance of this phenomenon,

has been so forcibly pointed out by the cabinet of Madrid, namely, the yellow bark, there named *calisaya*, which was thought to be peculiar to the province of la Paz, and which, having been already brought to Lima by Bezares, has been found to be of the same species, and to possess the same active qualities. Who could have imagined that the cinchona grew in Guamalies, and of the two most esteemed kinds, the dusky

menon, unfortunately not the only one which has been subjected to that lot. The degree of interest occasioned by so extraordinary a species, obliges us to relate what has been observed respecting the *sustillo*, which, it is to be lamented, is sought after by the Indians as a most delicious food. This caterpillar is bred in the *pacae*, a tree well known in Peru, and named by the Peruvian Flora, MS. *mimosa inga*. In proportion to the vigour and majestic growth of this tree, is the number of the insects it nourishes, and which are of the kind and size of the *bombyx*, or silk-worm. When they are completely satiated, they unite at the body of the tree, seeking the part which is best adapted to the extension they have to take. They there form, with the greatest symmetry and regularity, a web which is larger or smaller, according to the number of the operants; and more or less pliant, according to the quality of the leaf by which they have been nourished, the whole of them remaining beneath. This envelope, on which they bestow such a texture, consistency, and lustre, that it cannot be decomposed by any practicable expedient, having been finished, they all of them unite, and ranging themselves in vertical and even files, form in the centre a perfect square. Being thus disposed, each of them makes its *cocoon*, or pod, of a coarse and short silk, in which it is transformed, from the grub into the *chrysalis*, and from the chrysalis into the *popilio*, or moth. In proportion as they afterward quit their confinement, to take wing, they detach, wherever it is most convenient to them, their envelope, or web, a portion of which remains suspended to the trunk of the tree, where it waves to and fro like a streamer, and which becomes more or less white, according to the air and humidity the season and situation admit. A complete nest has already been transmitted to his Catholic Majesty; and, by the hands of his naturalist, Don Antonio Pineda, a piece of this natural silk paper, measuring a yard and a half, of an elliptical shape, which is peculiar to all of them.

red and the yellow, before the adventurous spirit of Bezares led him to penetrate its intricate forests?

The terrible obstacle on the side of the frontier having been surmounted, contrary to the expectations of those who were practically skilled in these undertakings, Bezares made the necessary advances to overcome another equally great. On the route between Chavin and Xican, which already held out the prospect of a considerable traffic by carriages and mules, two small islands, and several steep and rugged descents, intervened in a space of eight leagues, which were the terror of the passengers. The necessity of opening a new road by the bank of the Maranon, which there feebly directs its course towards Chachapoyas, was thus pointed out; and this having been successfully accomplished, the passage across the islands and precipices was avoided, and the eight leagues above mentioned reduced to four commodious ones. To oppose an effectual barrier to the inundations of the river, a solid causeway was constructed with a kind of quadrilateral stones, several of them more than two yards in length, which Nature seemed to have formed with infinite care, and which were dug up in levelling the mountain. Bezares was now recalled to give an account of his useful and interesting operations to the viceroy, under whose auspices they will without doubt be prosperously continued.

A civilized Indian, but one accustomed to an erratic life, of the description of those adverted to above, is represented in *Plate XVII.* clad in the *poncho*, the dress of the Indians of Peru before their subjugation by the Spaniards. This garment is made of wool, cotton, or flattened straw interwoven in a web of thread. On horseback, it is a defence for all ranks of Peruvians,



Civilized Indian wearing the Poncho.

Peruvians, against cold and rain. The poncho of matted straw is impenetrable to the weather. Mantles of this kind have been found so useful a shelter against the inclemency of the weather, that they have been recently adopted for the Spanish cavalry.—The hammock, the name of which is derived from the Quechua tongue, likewise originated with the ancient Indians of Peru.

REPOPULATION OF THE VALLEY OF VITOC.

THE pleasant valley of Vitoc is one of those formed by the Andes mountains, and belongs to the intendency of Tarma, from which capital it is distant sixteen leagues. It is situated in 11 degrees 32 minutes south latitude, and in 302 degrees 15 minutes of longitude. It is bounded, on the west, by the department of Tarma; on the east, by the river named Marancocha, which, arising from the junction of the rivers Uchubamba and Monobamba, empties itself into the Chanchamayo; on the south, by the fort of Uchubamba, and its dependencies; and on the north, by the river Chanchamayo, which separates it from the possessions of the uncivilized Indians. From south to north, reckoning from the elevation of the mountain of Sibis to that of Soriano, it has an extent of eight leagues; and, from east to west, of six leagues, from the river Marancocha to the mountain of the river Maraynioc. It is composed of several plains and deep excavations of the earth (*quebradas*), of a surprizing fertility, and which, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, were cultivated with great pains and diligence. It is traditionally known that they
afforded

afforded three crops in the year, in such abundance, that Vitoc was, relatively to the bordering provinces, what Sicily was to the Roman empire. To the fecundity of the soil it unites a mild temperature of climate, and is free from the mosquitoes and other insects by which the mountains are infested. To enjoy these advantages, three towns, named Sibis, Pucara, and Colla, were built, and annexed to the *doctrina* of Monobamba, belonging to the Dominican friars.

The commencement of the year 1742 forms an epoch in the annals of Peru. Juan Santos Atahualpa, whom some conjecture to have been born in Cuzco, and others in Huamanga, having been guilty of murder, sought refuge in the recesses of the Andes mountains, to shun the punishment due to his guilt. Pretending to be descended from the ancient Yncas, he stiled himself Apu-Inga Huaynacapac, and declared himself the restorer of the empire. Novelty, and the love of domination, enabled him to collect, in a little time, a multitude of barbarous Indians, who, assailing our establishments, demolished twenty-five towns, inhabited by Indian converts, the fruit of the zealous labours of the provincial order of Franciscans of Lima. Juan Santos having succeeded, in his first attempts, in the dispersion of our weak and undisciplined troops, did not stop until he had buried beneath the ruins of Quimiri, the valiant governor, Don Fabricio Bartoli. The conquest of that important post afforded him a ready entrance into Vitoc, which shared the same fate. Its inhabitants, after having been lords of vast and flourishing plantations, were reduced to a state of indigence in Tapo, and other towns of Tarma. The arrows of the *chichirenes* and *simiriches*, two of the savage tribes, were directed against them with so much effect,

effect, that the governor, the marquis of Mena-Hermosa, was obliged to draw a line of circumvallation, by the construction of several small forts at the edge of the mountain, and to assign them limits between the Spaniard and the barbarian.

Vitoc remaining in the possession of the latter, Tarma was consequently deprived of its granary, of the want of which it soon became sensible. The Indian and the mestizo were condemned to endure the poverty to which they were reduced by the loss of Vitoc. The frosts, which in repeated instances destroyed the seeds planted in the more elevated grounds, revived both their grief, and the recollection of the mountainous territory free from such calamities; but the order not to pass the line of the fortifications was strictly enforced; the subject was exposed to the risk of being considered as a traitor; and the glad moment was not yet arrived, when the administrator was to break these chains, so perplexing to the Spaniard, and so galling to his valour.

Don Juan Maria de Galves, intendant of the province of Tarma, who, in imitation of the pretors of ancient Rome, was desirous to signalize his government by some monument by which its remembrance should be transmitted to future ages, chose, instead of pyramids and inscriptions, the offspring of vanity, to restore to Tarma the fruitful Vitoc. His ardent spirit, and profound discernment, disdained the accumulated difficulties, either real or imaginary, which presented themselves to the view of the ordinary observer. To a beneficent hand resources are never wanting, to give a successful issue to an enterprize, without burdening the commonweal,

or

or oppressing the subject. It may be true, that these points are not easily reconcileable with each other; but our intendant, in the distribution of the new lands, was able, not only to recompense the assiduous labours of the settlers, but likewise to ensure their future prosperity. That being his sole object, to the end that he might proceed with every security, he addressed himself to the viceroy, Don Teodoro de Croix, accompanying his solicitations by an energetic representation on the same subject, drawn up by the senate of the city of Tarma. His application having been favourably received, he augmented his efforts for the re-establishment of Vitoc, supplying the necessary implements and provisions, and surveying in person the mountains which, through time and neglect, had become impenetrable.

The first object that engaged his attention, was the construction of an advanced fort, which, by covering the valley, should secure it from the attacks of the barbarians in the vicinity. Vitoc being naturally defended by the steep hills, of a considerable height, which surround it to the east, west, and south, is only assailable by the deep and rugged ground that fronts the north, and terminates in the river Chanchamayo, distant nine leagues from the small town of Chibatizo, built by the civilized Indians on the ruins of Quimiri. The forest having been cleared in that part, the fort was in a little time erected on a commodious eminence, and provided with four bastions. The extent, disposition, and solidity of the walls, fully manifest the talent, zeal, and activity of Don Juan de Galves, to whose praise it ought to be recorded, that the whole was finished without the smallest expence to the state, notwithstanding eleven thousand piastres had, independently of the

the quotas levied on the inhabitants of the province, been drawn from the public treasury, for the construction of the fort of Chanchamayo, in every respect inferior to that of St. Charles of Vitoc. As the troops stationed at the posts of Comas and Ulucmayo were absolutely useless, even before this new establishment had been made, and as these posts had consequently become, instead of quarters for soldiery, fortresses for pirates, they were evacuated, and the military marched to Vitoc. By this expedient a garrison was supplied, without any burden to the nation at large, or to the province in particular, the prosperity of which the intendant had so much at heart.

Beneath the protection of the fort, and of the privileges granted by the laws of the kingdom to the new settlers, the valley was cultivated with great industry and success, each individual entering on the enjoyment of the portion of territory to which he became entitled by the greater or smaller degree of his application and constancy. In the interim, Galves made the necessary preparations for the re-peopling of the ancient towns of Colla and Pucara, the ruins of which were speedily repaired. The former of these places, which, to perpetuate the remembrance of the exalted personage under whose government the re-establishment of Vitoc had been undertaken, was named San Teodoro de Colla, was embellished by a church, and by a monastery fitted for the reception of the missionaries of Ocopa, who took on them the spiritual direction of the settlement.

When the magistrate entertains a persuasion, that the supreme and sole aim of his high dignity is to confer happiness on those he governs, he is not deterred by any consideration,

but makes every sacrifice, and encounters every risk, for the welfare of the subject. Thus it was with our intendant, who, in bestowing on his work its highest degree of perfection, by the opening of a convenient road which might facilitate the traffic and exportation of the productions of Vitoc, was crushed by the fall of a huge tree, and narrowly escaped with his life. As a recompense for his assiduous labours, this zealous minister has, by the repopulation of Vitoc, united to the crown a territory which, abstractedly considered, is of a considerable extent ; has conferred happiness on eighty families who already inhabit that valley ; and has freed the inhabitants of Tarma from the straits to which they were reduced by the want of arable land, and by the nipping frosts. The mineral regions of Yauli and Pasco are no longer at a loss for their supplies of coca and corn. And, in conclusion, upwards of forty plantations, regularly formed, which the fertile Vitoc can already boast, together with the triple crops of coca, cotton, cacao, and various grains, the produce of its exuberant soil, become a great acquisition both to the sovereign, and to Peru.

These are not, however, the sole consequences of the talents and persevering industry of Don Juan de Galves. Emulation, the parent of great actions, has inspired those who dwell within the limits of the intendency, with an energy to which they were before strangers. The inhabitants of Xauja, desirous to be placed on a footing, in point of prosperity, with those of Tarma, solicited him, towards the close of his government, to further their endeavours for the re-establishment of Monobamba. Under his auspices, the first and greatest difficulties were soon overcome ; and if his worthy successor
should

should tread in the same path, he will be entitled to the benedictions of the community, the most solid recompense to which a noble mind can aspire.

By the means of the system of forming new settlements on the side of the Andes mountains, the brilliant light of the gospel may be diffused among the nations who dwell there surrounded by the dark gloom of error and paganism, in a more secure and efficacious manner than by fire and the sword. In speaking of the advantages of Vitoc, the assembly of Tarma makes the following energetic reflections on this head: "In this project, the religion which our august monarch so ardently desires to see established among the infidels, is interested, on this account, that the population of Vitoc, having been augmented with the progress of time, may of itself become the basis of a communication with the *chunchos*; and these Indians, on perceiving that they are neither persecuted, nor molested in the lands they possess, may resort to a traffic with us, for the agricultural implements of which they are greatly in need, similar to that in which the Indians of the back settlements of North America have engaged with the British and French. By the means of this amicable and frequent intercourse, the Catholic religion may not only be introduced among them, but may become grateful to them, for the very reason that they have not been urged to it by compulsory measures. It has been seen, that the most politic nations have established their colonies, and advanced their conquests, by regulations, the early introduction of which has led to a traffic, such as is now solicited. It is not easy to pass with celerity from barbarism to the summit of perfection; but time, the frequency of intercourse, and the temptation of being able

to obtain, in the way of barter, what is indispensable to their necessities, by the surrender of that which is superfluous, gradually civilize men, make them friends, and lead them, without violence, to a common language, an identity of customs, and the same religion.”

Such are the inestimable fruits which Don Juan de Galves, by his endeavours to promote the welfare of those placed under his protection, has reaped. While they have entitled him to the gratitude and praises, which, in the name of Peru, we here tender to him, they have likewise procured him the approbation of the supreme authorities, and of a pious sovereign, the just rewarder of merit*.

* The royal schedule, commendatory of the zeal and activity of this minister, in the repopulation of Vitoc, was dated at Madrid in March 1790.

PART VIII.

MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.

PERIODICAL WORKS.

IN all nations and states, the progress of the sciences has been uniformly slow. When the temples of Egypt, and the porticoes of Athens, were the archives of history and philosophy, human acquirements remained in a manner stagnant, in the obscurity of the hieroglyphics, and in the verbal precepts of the masters. The Romans, to whom the knowledge of the Greeks devolved, propagated in every part of the globe the refinement of their ideas, conjointly with the glory of their triumphant arms. With the prosperity of the empire, civilization, study, and literature, received a proportionate increase. Soon, however, this smiling scene underwent an entire change : the establishment of two empires, in the east and in the west ; the successive revolutions in each of these dominions ; the wars carried on by the barbarians ; the irruptions made by them into almost every part of Europe ; and other analogous events, caused the sciences and fine arts to disappear, and in that point of view may be said to have brutalized society. Then it was that the monk, retired from the world, or voluntarily obscured according to the conception of men, was the sole depository of these arts, and of these sciences, more especially of those which are termed *abstract*. In the cloisters, the judge,
the

the warrior, and the monarch, received their education ; and thence issued the faint light which was progressively diffused among the rest of the social body. We should never have ceased to depend on cenobitical instruction, if the surprizing and most useful invention of the press had not generalized the ideas of literature, facilitating at the same time both its study and acquisition. The press associated the talents of the whole world ; and by its means the meditations of the swarthy Lydian were transmitted to the remote inhabitants of the British isles.

Among the different objects which have occupied the press, no one has been more useful than that of periodical papers, the adoption of which has established, in a certain degree, the epoch of the intellectual acquirements of nations. London alone maintains an infinite number of flying sheets, which appear daily, to record domestic and national transactions, foreign intelligences, and the physical and moral results drawn by certain sages, who examine man in the wide extent of his complicated relations. Spain, France, Germany, Italy, &c. have, as it were, endeavoured to surpass each other in the production of similar works. We shall now see the progress which has been made in this way, in South America.

The city of Mexico has been sufficiently prosperous to support a gazette, a civil diary, and another of natural history. In Lima, the first periodical work which made its appearance, was the *Diario Economico* (Economical Diary), the production of Don Jayme Bausate, whose plan was chiefly confined to the intelligence of the moment, and the more important events which took place in the country. The date of its earliest publication is not mentioned ; but it was soon followed
by

by that of the *Mercurio Peruano** (Peruvian Mercury), comprising history, literature, public notices, &c. &c. the first number of which appeared on the 2d of January, 1791. A quarto sheet of closely printed text was given twice a week, so as to form three volumes annually. Its learned editor,

* Little need be said about this publication, of the merit or demerit of which, as it has furnished the chief materials for the present work, the reader will be enabled to form his own judgment. It will probably be grateful to him to know the degree of encouragement afforded to literary pursuits in Peru, where letters have within a few years been very assiduously cultivated by all ranks of society. Independently of the general sale, there were, in the first instance, two hundred and sixteen subscribers, in the number of whom were comprehended the viceroy, archbishop, members of the royal audience, and many other distinguished personages, to the Peruvian Mercury, which, in the course of a month after its promulgation, received an augmentation of a hundred and thirty-three subscribers, making in the whole three hundred and forty-nine. From several hints thrown out by the editor, as well as from the list of subscribers, of the reduced number of two hundred and forty-one, prefixed to the second volume, it appears to have met with considerable opposition in Lima, more especially from the church, on account of the freedom introduced into the discussion of a variety of subjects of polity, &c. The name of the patriotic viceroy, Don Francisco Gil y Lemos, still stands as the distinguished patron of the work ; but that of the archbishop of Lima no longer appears. In proportion as it became known in the interior, the remote subscribers compensated in a great measure for the falling off of those in the capital, and swelled the list, at the commencement of the third volume, to the amount of three hundred and ten names. That the authors of the Peruvian Mercury were not actuated by selfish motives, but, on the other hand, by the love of their country, as they profess, in engaging in this undertaking, appears by the low price of the subscription, in a kingdom where money is so cheap and plentiful, and every article of life proportionally dear. Fourteen reals only, or 5s. 3d. English, were demanded of the subscribers per month, notwithstanding the numbers were in general accompanied by commercial and meteorological tables, lists of shipping, with their cargoes, &c. &c. which were not, any more than the occasional supplements, separately charged.

Don

Don Jacinto Calero y Moreira, in the prospectus by which, in his own name, and in that of the Academical Society of Lima, consisting of a certain number of literati calling themselves "the Lovers of the Country," he announces this work, introduces the following observation explanatory of the motive by which its publication was influenced: "The deficiency of the information we possess, relative to the interior and remote regions of the country we inhabit, and the utter want of the vehicles necessary to disseminate our notions in the literary world, are the causes why a kingdom such as Peru, so favoured by Nature in the benignity of the climate, and in the richness of the soil, scarcely occupies a small space in the delineation of the universe, as it has been traced by historians. To remedy this defect is the primary object of the Mercury, in the publication of which I have engaged."

The very flattering reception experienced by this work, induced father Antonio Olavarrieta, of the Seraphic order of monks, to publish another, at the commencement of June of the above year (1791), under the title of *Semanario Critico* (Weekly Critic). This production, of the size of a gazette, appeared every Sunday, and was sold at two reals, or ninepence English. The criticisms embraced a variety of objects, consisting, in general, of education, whether physical, moral, or political, public customs, and other analogous subjects. The author attached himself more particularly to public diversions, lyric poetry, and the theatre; but without neglecting whatever appertains to natural history, and the sciences in general. The balls, assemblies, promenades, literary clubs, coffee-houses, &c. in the capital, were matters of a subordinate consideration.

Father

Father Olavarrieta, aware that the abundance of good and bad criticisms with which Europe has been inundated, were not, on account of the diversity of circumstances, adaptable to the civil and domestic system of the country he had newly chosen for his residence, the defects of which required a particular demonstration, in the same way as the physical maladies of each climate demand a distinct remedy, proposed to himself to apply the valuable departments of criticism to the particular objects and occupations of the capital of Peru. His active genius, and profound literary attainments, generally admitted by the philosophers of Europe, eminently qualified him for this undertaking, in announcing which, the editor of the Mercury makes this observation: "Lima has at length placed itself on a footing with Mexico, at the time of the greatest splendour of the latter city, by possessing a Diary, a Mercury, and a Weekly Critic. If these three papers should alike meet with a flattering encouragement, a new author may perhaps one day present himself on the literary theatre, to propose the idea of publishing the essence, or spirit, of the best periodical papers of Lima."

At Santa Fé, a weekly journal was set on foot at the commencement of the month of February, 1791, under the simple title of the "Periodical Paper of Santa Fé de Bogota," and bearing the Latin device, from Livy: *Communis utilitas societatis maximum est vinculum*. In the preliminary article of the first number, intended as a prospectus, the author employs the following short episode, to shew the principles of the felicity of man: "Of the three philosophies, the political, which leads us to the knowledge of the government of nations, the moral, which influences the regularity of our customs, and the

economical, which inspires us with a wise method in the regulation of our families, it may be said, that they are the powers of the soul of prudence. By the triple alliance of these virtues, the beautiful structure of the felicity of man is formed, seeing that they are productive of an innumerable number of objects interesting to society and civil harmony, not only in a lucrative, but likewise in a decorous point of view."—Conformably to these principles, this author planned his work, which was occasionally embellished by light and agreeable essays, and appears to have been successfully established.

Quito, in consequence of the productiveness of the different branches of its flourishing commerce, was formerly one of the most opulent provinces of South America. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, it fell into so sensible a decay, that its plantations, manufactures, &c. were reduced to a fifth part of what they had heretofore been, and presented nothing more than a sad skeleton of its former affluence. To give a new vigour to this decayed province, Count Casa-Gijon, an illustrious character, whose name will one day occupy a distinguished place in the literary history of America, after having, at a very considerable expence, procured from Europe several skilful artists, to re-establish the manufactures, and perfectionate the arts, set on foot a patriotic society, of which he declared himself the patron. It was established in the year 1789, under the denomination of "the School of Concord," and consisted of twenty-six associates, and twenty-two corresponding members. Owing to a variety of unpropitious events, this society made but little progress until the close of the year 1791, when the new governor of the province, Don Luis Munoz, declared himself its protector, and bestowed
its



A. Vestizo of Quito professing a Liberal Art accompanied by his Pupil.

its direction on the bishop of Quito, a prelate eminently distinguished by his talents and zeal for the public good. To the end that the society should be established on a solid basis, a selection was made of twenty-four individuals, distinguished as well by their patriotism, as by a profound knowledge of the branches of agriculture, commerce, and manufactures, and consequently best able to discern whatever might lead to the improvement of each. The secretary, Don Francisco Xavier, shortly after announced the intention of the society to publish a periodical work, under the modest title of "the First Fruits of the Culture of Quito;" the first number of which accordingly made its appearance at the commencement of 1792, and which was continued once a fortnight. In the preliminary instruction drawn up by Xavier, Quito is represented as a country sufficiently enlightened to be aware of the necessity of recurring to a more solid literary civilization. "This periodical work," he observes, "is therefore proposed as a trial of the strength the geniuses of Quito may possess, to accomplish their journey to the temple of wisdom."

In Quito, as well as in all the principal cities of Peru, the mestizos are distinguished by their fondness for the fine arts, which they cultivate with an uncommon degree of success. Although, in the prosecution of their studies, they are denied the advantage of the models which are elsewhere deemed so essential to improvement, many of their productions, both in painting and sculpture, have excited the admiration of the virtuosi of Europe. A mestizo professing a liberal art, and accompanied by his young pupil, is represented in *Plate XVIII*.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.

THERE are not, perhaps, in any part of the globe, roads so bad as those which are to be found in all the provinces of the interior of Peru. The passes which are the least dangerous and inconvenient, are the brinks or declivities of the mountains: and these have rather the air of narrow cornices, fastened to the summit of the Cordillera, than of paths destined for the continual journeying of men and beasts of burden. The steep descents, the little balconies, as they are named, the quarries of stone, and precipices, are nothing when compared with the passes denominated *barbacoas*, or steps. In descending these last, a man, mounted on a horse or mule, forms with his head, and with that of the beast, an obtuse angle, the base of which is the road itself, in the midst of his descent. From this description it will readily be perceived, that the risk of the traveller is the greater, inasmuch as he proceeds, out of the equilibrium, by a plane nearly perpendicular: consequently, on the mule or horse making the slightest trip, or on the least inadvertence of the rider, the precipice is inevitable.

The *barbacoas* consist of cross poles, fixed in the rock, but without being fastened at the extremities. They are usually placed at the sharpest prominences of a rock by which the road is interrupted, and which it is necessary to cross, by passing on the top of these bridges, so weak that they tremble, and are sometimes bent double by the weight of the passenger. On one side of these *barbacoas* rises an inaccessible mountain; and on the other, and beneath them, are precipices of a
league

league and a half in extent, commonly terminating in rivers, the obstreperous course of which is scarcely to be perceived from the elevated station where the path is opened. The traveller, when, for the first time, he has to cross one of these tottering bridges, cannot shun the reflection, that it would be still safer to attempt the navigation of Cape Horn. Those who have frequented the roads of Huanuco and Cuzco, will most assuredly assent to this truth.

To lessen these risks and terrors, to improve the roads of the above description, and to open others of a safer and more commodious nature, various projects, more or less extensive and costly, according to the particular views of their authors, have at different times been formed. Not one, however, has as yet been devised, in which the facility of the execution has been combined with the permanence of the necessary works, and the resources made to accord with economy and humanity. The fundamental principles of almost all the projectors who have hazarded their conjectures on this head, have consisted of the forced *mita*, or service of the Indians, and the augmentation of the duties on certain merchandizes. This mode of viewing things is similar to that which cost the life of the unfortunate Abdoul-Hassan-Benamar, the minister of Muley-Mehemed, king of Morocco. It is related of this courtier, that having been called on by his sovereign, to propose some tolerable mode of filling the royal coffers, he replied, after having meditated the subject for six weeks, that he had fallen on a simple, natural, and mild expedient, to give the state an annual revenue of three millions of piastres. For this purpose, nothing more, he observed, was required, than to levy a new tax of two piastres on each of the subjects, whether
male

male or female, of the empire of Morocco. Muley-Mehemed, enraged at this deception, ordered his wicked minister to be thrown into the sea ; and the latter thus expiated, by the forfeiture of his life, the tyranny of his intentions. How many projectors merit a fate similar to that which attended Abdoul-Hassan-Benamar !

The Academical Society, desirous to be useful to the country, and to convert to its benefit the sole pecuniary advantages that have been hitherto derived from the circulation of the *Peruvian Mercury**, having obtained the permission of the supreme authority for that purpose, invites all the learned inhabitants of the kingdom, whom it proposes to stimulate by honorary rewards, agreeably to the custom of the academies of Europe, to transmit the result of their meditations on the above subject of the amelioration of the roads. This invitation is accompanied by ardent prayers, that the proposal may be well received, and may be productive of the advantages the Society expects to result from it.

The Society therefore offers the reward of a gold medal, of the weight of eleven ounces, with a ring and chain of the same metal, to him who shall present a dissertation on the easiest, most economical, and most secure method of improving the roads of the kingdom ; such dissertation, when compared with the others of its class, meriting the highest approbation, and the greatest number of suffrages. In the same way it offers a silver medal, of the same weight and description, to the author whose dissertation on this subject, being

* The proposition which follows is dated towards the close of the month of September 1791, when the *Mercury* had subsisted for nearly nine months.

next in merit, shall, after the preceding one, be worthy of the adoption and applauses of the public.

A grant to that effect having been obtained from his excellency the viceroy, the medals will be struck in the royal mint. In addition to the arms of the Society, and the hieroglyphics allusive to the subject, a short inscription will explain the motive on which they have been struck, and the honour they will confer on those who may chance to possess them. Whenever they shall have undergone the necessary processes of minting, engraving, &c. due notice will be given through the channel of the Mercury, to the end that those who are desirous to do so, may see and examine them. This publicity, which would be ridiculous in Europe, we deem necessary, to protect us from the calumnies of some malicious or ignorant individual, who might otherwise presume to throw doubts on the seriousness of our engagement.

The result of this patriotic proposal to bestow premiums, the first that had been offered in Peru on any similar occasion, remains to be given. The dissertations were to be delivered on or before the 30th of March 1792, and were to be examined by thirteen persons well known to possess a theoretical and practical knowledge of the subject proposed; six to be selected from among the members of the Society, and the remaining seven from the body of the literati of the capital. Contrary to the expectations of the Society, not any dissertation was sent, with the exception of one from Chachapoyas, in the mountainous territory, whence little was to be expected. This dissertation possessed some degree of merit, but not such as to entitle it to either of the honorary rewards the Society had proposed.

The

The bishop of Quito, Don Joseph Perez Calama, in his pastoral edicts, which are utterly divested of the bigotry of the Romish Church, displays the most benevolent and patriotic views. In the course of a general visitation to the parishes of his diocese, he published, during his stay at Hambato, an edict, of which the following is the most remarkable clause: "Seeing that in this department of Hambato, there is an abundance of excellent wheaten flour, and that a great portion of the commerce consists in the sale of bread, we offer a premium of fifty piastres to the baker who shall make and present to us a specimen of the wheaten bread here named *pan de agua*, well fermented, well kneaded, and well baked." Here is introduced the detail of the characteristic qualities of the best and most wholesome bread; and the premium is extended to the bakers of the city of Quito, as well as to those residing in any of the districts of the diocese.

One of the most interesting projects of this worthy prelate has been, to establish a communication between the cities of Ibarra and Otabalo, and the provinces of Asquande, Choco, and Barbacoas, the want of which prevented the exportation of the productions and manufactures, and reduced the inhabitants to a state of extreme misery. For this purpose it was necessary to construct a capacious road, by tracks which had before been scarcely passable. This was undertaken with the approbation of the president; and Don Perez Calama subscribed, in the first instance, five hundred piastres to carry the project into effect. His patriotic example was followed by the subscriptions of the rectors, and other public-spirited individuals; insomuch that, in the month of July 1791, the road was completed. One of the beneficial results of this enterprize

terprize was the discovery of several valuable gold mines, at the same time that others which had been long neglected, on account of the defect of the necessary communications, were again worked. In a word, the efforts of this dignitary of the church, to remedy evils, to eradicate abuses, to promote public works, and to advance the sciences, are incredible. His discourse, at the opening* of the Economical Society of Quito, which has been already referred to, deserves to be given at length, on account of the soundness of policy it displays, and of the masterly eloquence in which it abounds. It is as follows :

“ The extreme poverty experienced by this my beloved capital, and by the whole of my diocess, has notably afflicted me, as I have manifested in several of my edicts, and in reiterated communications made to the king, our sovereign lord. Amid this gloom and despondency, I had the particular satisfaction to read, a few days ago, I think, in the moral work entitled ‘ the Education of Eusebius,’ that ‘ not only those capitals and provinces are felicitous in which abundance abounds, but likewise those in which abound misery and scarcity.’ I

* This meeting took place, in the great hall of the new royal university of Quito, on the 30th of November 1791, and was attended by a numerous assemblage of distinguished personages. At the head of the principal females and matrons of Quito, was the lady of the president of the province, by whose order the chief artisans, or masters of all the corporate trades, were admitted. A subscription, by which a fund to defray the expences of the Society might be formed, was proposed by the bishop, in his quality of director; and, in setting the example, which was generally followed, he himself subscribed three hundred piastres. The annual subscription of the associates and honorary members, for the benefit of the Society, was likewise regulated on this occasion.

confess that I was surprized at this thought, which at first sight appeared to me to be paradoxical; but on revolving it in my mind, and on considering this celebrated sentence: *Omnia quippe docuit duris in rebus urgens egestas*, I was convinced of the Eusebian truth delivered by the mentor Hardil.

“ Yes, gentlemen, our great misery and poverty constitute our greatest felicity, now that harmony is established among us, and that we witness the formation of an industrious, active, and vigilant society. Not any force can resist the union of the learned, when their studies are directed to the investigation of the three kingdoms of Nature, namely, the vegetable, animal, and metallurgical. If in this my beloved capital and diocess, there were a mint in which eight or ten millions of piastres should be coined annually, all would unite in declaring Quito to be a powerful and abundant kingdom. And will it be possible for us, of ourselves, and by ourselves, to form this important machine, or mint? Will it be possible that in Quito, so poor and miserable, the great art of making money, which is the spirit and political soul of all cultivated nations, should, provided it be your wish, gentlemen, be established?

“ The art of making money, is the art of collecting gold and silver. But what is this art? Let us divest ourselves of every idea of conquests, oracles, and superstitions. What then, I proceed to ask, is the true, solid, and permanent art of making or acquiring money with all security of conscience? The learned exclaim with one voice, that it consists in agriculture, in the arts, and in maritime commerce, without neglecting the working of the mines, when that is practicable, and with well-founded prospects. By agriculture, by the arts,

arts, and by maritime commerce, metals and monies are attracted, they being drawn by political chemistry from the countries which possess them, by the means of the exchange of the productions they need, for the money they hold in superfluity. It is an incontrovertible truth, that there is a reciprocal attraction between money and the things it represents ; but with this difference, that the force of what is represented is greater than that of the representative, or token, which is the money.

“ Who among us is ignorant, that the nations of Europe which have most money are England and Holland ? without these powers possessing any other means of acquiring it, unless by agriculture, arts, and maritime commerce. And if the productions and woollen manufactures of the English are the magnet, which, by the touch or spring of commerce, gently attracts to them money, and enriches them year after year ; why is Quito so poor, and wherefore does it remain in that state, when there are, within its territory, an abundance of productions, and whatever is needful for the manufacture of woollens and cottons, the latter of which constitute the principal mine of opulent India ? The cause of our decline is very visible : we are in need of an active commerce, both internal and external. Our natural productions have not a lucrative vent ; and this observation applies equally to the products of industry. From this fatal principle results the necessary consequence of depopulation ; because all flee from the poor, in the same way as many poor neglect to marry and settle, simply because they are poor.

“ Hence I return to my proposition, that the extreme poverty to which my beloved Quito is reduced, is and ought to

be the fruitful origin of its supreme felicity, so long as you, gentlemen, and all the other noble citizens, may please to make an honourable muster of active and laborious individuals, composing the illustrious Economical Society of the Friends of the Country. Can it be doubted, but that you, and the other sages and nobles of Quito, possessing a well known intelligence and activity, may succeed in obtaining a knowledge of the political maladies which have laid this kingdom prostrate ; in investigating the causes whence they have originated ; and in finding, by the dint of observation and study, the most effectual means of re-establishment ? Can it perchance be doubted, but that each of you, gentlemen, through the impulse of his patriotism, will be very ready to sacrifice a part of his property, by hazarding some such proofs as may verify, at a small expence, the solidity of these reflections ?

“ For my part, I offer to contribute all the resources of money and books which depend on me. The economical societies of our Old Spain (and truly they are and have been a fertile mine of felicity) have without exception been supported, and are augmented daily, by the constant application of the learned nobility, and by the royal protection of our august sovereign, and that of his enlightened ministry. Both causes, or sources, exist in Quito. If we look to the royal protection, it is secured to us by the warranty and engagement of our illustrious president, as well as by the supplications he promises to direct to the throne ; and with respect to the learned and patriotic nobility, can it be doubted, but that, in ingenuity, and activity of mind, the nobles of Quito are on a par with those of the other provinces ?

“ The sole causes which can impede the progress of our
Society,

Society, are envy, discord, and inapplication. It is certain, and I have wept it even with tears of blood, that in my beloved Quito, the spirit of litigation has been very predominant : but henceforth, I doubt not that all my beloved *Quitinians* (Quitenos) will sedulously vie with each other, in crowning themselves with the laurel of peace, and the concord of souls, in such a way as that this illustrious Society of the Friends of the Country may be the bond of christian and political charity. With the concord of souls, the most lowly republics have been re-established and resuscitated ; and without it, the greatest empires have been submerged. Let us all, then, with a patriotic emulation, proceed to obtain, that of the noble and learned Quitinians it may be said : *justiciæ legem in concordia disposuerunt*, as Solomon spake of the patriotism of the Hebrews.

“ To you, gentlemen, it belongs to devise, discover, and make a trial of the most seasonable means for the resurrection of this our dying country. With the greatest joy of my heart I see in Quito (now that the royal university is re-integrated and revived by our illustrious president), that to ignorance succeed the sciences ; to remissness, application ; to indolence, industry ; to incommmodity, enjoyment ; and to misery and wretchedness, opulence and riches : in a word, that the throne of public prosperity is erected on the infelicity and extreme poverty of this our beloved country. *Omnia quippe docuit duris in rebus urgens egestas*.

“ All this I already consider as certain, and very certain. For what may not Quito promise itself from a Society animated, swayed, and protected, by a learned president, and by a governor and captain-general, in whom Mars and Minerva
dispute

dispute their empire? Happy Quito! and happy thou, illustrious Quitinian Society, seeing that thou art about to confer happiness on a country so deserving of thy benefits! And you, gentlemen, whom I shall always name my friends and companions, I question not but that your united efforts will be crowned with success, and that each of you will apply himself more and more to that which the love of the country requires, laying aside every other consideration for the public good and utility. Small, even very small, are the means and resources which Quito possesses; but if we all of us unite with the spirit of patriotism, without leaving the smallest room for envy or sloth, Quito will resuscitate, and we shall all of us resuscitate. Let us begin, let us begin, seeing that with constancy and union we shall certainly triumph. That which is never undertaken, can never be brought to a conclusion; and there is not in any kingdom a more mortal paralysis than that of doing nothing. We are all of us poor; but we shall all be rich, if we propose to ourselves, as our guide, to be loving friends of the country. I am aware of the superior obligation which the character of bishop imposes on me; and it is full in my remembrance, that one of the five vows I made, on the day when I received the very unexpected notice of my being elected bishop of Quito, was, 'that all my incomes, all my books, and all my voice and pen, although weak, should be employed for the benefit and succour of my beloved diocese.'

This eloquent discourse concludes by a tribute of the most cordial thanks to the president, the founder of the Society—*felices nos imperio tuo*—and by an address to his lady, whom the bishop beseeches, in the most energetic terms, to found,
direct,



Mulattoes of Quito.

direct, and govern, under the auspices of her illustrious husband, the common protector and Mecenas, the charitable and civil society of the fair sex of Quito.

On quitting the subject of the above city, which, although it has, from a variety of causes, fallen into decay, is still extremely populous, it may be proper to notice, that the costumes of the inhabitants are in every respect similar to those of Lima; to illustrate which, several plates have been given under the head of Customs and Manners. As, however, in Quito, the more efficient part of the population consists of mestizos and mulattoes, whose talents and industry are exerted with great benefit to the community, in occupations which are disdained by the haughty Spaniards, two of the latter cast (mulattoes), a male and a female, to the end that they may not be passed over entirely unnoticed, are introduced, with their appropriate costumes, in *Plate XIX*.

The following particulars, demonstrative of the noxious effects resulting from the burial of the dead in the churches of populous cities, more especially in a climate similar to that of Peru, gave rise to several learned dissertations, which appeared from time to time in the Peruvian Mercury, on this important subject of political economy.

The city of Tarma is situated in a spot which is, in a manner, entirely destitute of ventilation. The three hills by which it is surrounded form an obtuse angle, without any outlet or passage, unless at the side of the broken ground named Acobamba, leading to the great road to Lima. This circumstance, and the consideration of the depth in which it is placed, respectively to the other towns in its vicinity, gave a certain degree of probability to the suspicion, that its temperature

was

was vitiated. In reality, every year, at a determinate season, epidemical fevers made their appearance, and readily degenerated into pains in the side, which were in most cases fatal. The inhabitants of the district attributed to the climate this malign influence; and in some parts the prejudice was so strong, that it was usual to name Tarma the country of tertian fevers.

Don Juan Maria de Galves, whose administration was so honourably distinguished by the re-population of the valley of Vitoc, a succinct account of which has been given, undertook to find the real cause of these calamities; and this cause he removed for ever. The talents of this worthy minister, and the philosophy by which he is characterized, were the counselors, the physicians, and the remedies. The history is as follows:

In Tarma there is but one church; the population is numerous in proportion to the ground it occupies; and all the interments were made in the interior of the temple, according to the custom which, having been, since the eighth century, insensibly introduced into the whole of the christian world, has been confounded with piety and devotion. It was very natural to suppose, that the corruption of so many dead bodies, in a space so circumscribed and so much frequented, would be fatal to the health of those who resided in the vicinity: in this case, however, prejudice operated still more powerfully than reason. The diseases which originated from this abuse, and even the deaths manifestly arising from the infection of the air, did not suffice to remove the impression the inhabitants of Tarma had received. The intendant, superior to the tyranny of opinion, formed the project of a burial-ground without-
side

side the city. Among the embarrassments which in the first instance presented themselves, the principal were the general opposition of all the classes of citizens, and the want of the funds necessary to defray the expences of the erection. The narrowness of his own fortune, and the impracticability, under such circumstances, of having recourse to voluntary contributions, would have prevented the accomplishment of the undertaking, if it had not been directed by an unchangeable constancy. All that economy, personal co-operation, the influence of authority, and a promptness of execution, can contribute to advance the progress of a public monument, concurred in the construction of this one. At the close of the year 1789, the project was formed to build a cemetery : and at the middle of the following year, 1790, it was completed. Its figure is a parallelogram, the length of which is fifty-four geometrical paces, and its breadth thirty. It is situated to the W. N. W. of the city, at the distance of two musket shots, and lies on the left, on entering by the above-mentioned route. Its position is highly advantageous, inasmuch as it receives the benefit of the little ventilation the city enjoys, and is on a kind of eminence which facilitates the evaporation of the contagious and noxious effluvia. Fronting the entrance is a chapel in which the funeral rites are performed, and which is opened on all occasions when the relatives are desirous to solemnize the memory of any of the defunct who are there interred. The ornaments of the building, and the judicious choice of the site, do honour to the talents and taste of Don Juan de Galves.

The sepulchres within the church have been closed ; and all the corpses, without distinction, interred in the cemetery.

The result has been, *that the tertians and pestilential fevers, which before made so dreadful a havoc in that territory, have entirely ceased.* Tarma has contracted an eternal debt of gratitude towards the benefactor by whose wise provisions it has been freed from the calamities by which it was so often and so deeply afflicted. Dr. Don Juan de Alvarez, rector of the *doctrina* and valley of Late, after having, at his own expence, built in the town of that name a commodious church, constructed at the side of it a cemetery in which the dead bodies are inhumed ; and an ossuary destined for the reception of the last fragments of deplorable humanity, when found in an incorrupted state on the opening of a grave. By this wise and commendable plan, which was carried into effect in the year 1790, and by the means of interring at a very considerable depth, he has preserved his church from the bad smells and dangerous exhalations, so usual in those in which the sepultures are made in the centre.

BIOGRAPHY.

THE following biographical sketches were drawn up by the authors of the Peruvian Mercury, as the commencement of a series intended to rescue from the oblivion into which they had fallen, the learned and distinguished characters by whom Peru has been adorned since the epoch of the conquest.

Father Juan Perez Menacho was born in Lima in the year 1565 ; his parents were equally distinguished by an illustrious descent, and by the exercise of the milder virtues. At the age of six years he could read, write, cipher, and draw, possess-
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ing at the same time the christian doctrine so perfectly, that it was his task to instruct all the other children in the school. His stature was prodigious : at seven years of age he appeared to have attained his fifteenth year*; and at five-and-twenty he had grown in such a proportion, that there was not any person in the kingdom whom he did not, like Saul, exceed from the shoulder upward. He was scarcely ten years of age when he had learned by heart the whole of the Psalter, with the pious intention of replying to the priest when he accompanied the holy sacrament.

In 1579, he began his grammatical studies ; and in the space of two years completed his course of philosophy. At the age of seventeen years, in 1582, he entered into the society of Jesus, and was received, as a noviciate, into the college named St. Joseph, situated in the suburb del Cercado, it being the first the society possessed in the capital. His noviciate and theological studies having been completed in the space of two years, he was appointed professor of philosophy, notwithstanding he had not yet been ordained. This privilege, among the Jesuits, was exclusively enjoyed by father Francisco Suarez in Salamanca, and by our father Menacho in Lima.

He next became professor of theology in the city of Cuzco, and after having resided there for some years, returned to Lima to fill the same chair in the college of San Pablo. The

* This is not the only example which might be cited, to confute the foreign authors, those who have been engaged in drawing up the Encyclopædias more particularly, who ascribe to the descendants of the Spaniards in America, a diminutive stature.

royal university having presented a petition to that effect, he was called to the first chair of theology, which he occupied on the death of his master, father Avila, in 1601. On that occasion he afforded a remarkable instance of the retentiveness of his memory, which was so good, that what he had once read, remained deeply imprinted, insomuch that he never forgot it, or changed the smallest of the words. Being seated in the professor's chair, in the presence of the viceroy, of the members of the royal audience, of the nobility, chapter, doctors, &c. he requested the rector to order one of the secretaries to open at random the book of the theology of St. Thomas, and name to him the question and article which should thus fortuitously present themselves. This having been done, he repeated the article literally, and commented on it for an hour, to the admiration of all present.

He continued to teach theology in the royal university of St. Mark, for the space of twenty-five years without any interruption. His studies and application were unwearied and unremitting: he employed daily from ten to twelve hours in reading and meditation. There was not a subject, however complicated and obscure, which he could not comprehend without the necessity of a re-perusal. To his eminent wisdom he united the exercise of the christian virtues, and possessed in an extraordinary degree, humility, purity, a contempt of all sublunary enjoyments, and patience. The latter enabled him to support the excruciating pains under which he laboured for upwards of fifteen years, in consequence of a fall from the top of a staircase, in fleeing from the devastations of the dreadful earthquake which occurred at Lima in the month of October 1609. He expired without a groan, on the 20th of January, 1626,
in

in the sixty-first year of his age, having preserved his judgment and faculties until the latest hour. His funeral was attended by the archbishop of Lima, the ecclesiastical and secular chapters, the religious communities, and the whole of the nobility residing in the capital. The tears of the poor, the encomiums of the learned, and the grief of all, were his funereal panegyric and his triumph.

Don Antonio Leon Pinelo was the eldest of three brothers, all of them distinguished by their learning and accomplishments. It has not been precisely ascertained whether he was born in Lima, or in another part of the kingdom; but it is certain that he was entered as a student in the royal university of St. Mark, where his preceptor, Dr. Velazques, a native of Lima, inspired him with a taste for the study of the jurisprudence of the Indies. Accordingly, in 1623, he published a discourse on the importance, and methodical compilement (recopilacion), of the laws of the Indies, which was so well received in Spain, that it procured him the appointment of reporter to the supreme council for the affairs of the Indies. He afterwards composed two volumes, in which he made a practical application of the theory of his discourse; and, which, under the title of "Compilement of the Laws of the Indies," are consulted at this hour in all affairs relative to the jurisprudence of the Spanish colonies. In prosecuting this very arduous and useful task, he appears to have laboured with a most indefatigable industry. "Having," he observes, "obtained permission to consult all the books and papers contained in the departments of the two secretaries of Peru and New Spain, I perused, in the space of two years, five hundred books of manuscript schedules, and, in them, upwards
of

of a hundred and twenty thousand leaves, and more than three hundred thousand decisions, the minutes of which are in my possession. From these materials I have drawn my first volume; and am now engaged in the second, by which the work will be completed."

It was followed by two productions, one on the polity of the Indies, and the other on their ecclesiastical and spiritual government. Into the latter he introduced upwards of three hundred pontifical decisions, relative to the Indies, drawn from the apostolical bulls and briefs, and from the replies of the congregations of cardinals.

At the particular request of the Duke of Modena, he next wrote and published an *Epitome of the Oriental and Occidental Library*, in which, with infinite labour and diligence, he analyzed the productions of all the authors who had at that time published on either of the Indies. Considerable additions were afterwards made to this interesting work, which was reprinted in 1737, in three folio volumes, by order of the enlightened Spanish minister, Don Gonzales de Garcia, to whom the republic of letters is indebted for new editions of many old and scarce tracts relative to South America.

Anxious to enrich his country with whatever depended on his genius, talents, and assiduous application, Pinelo afterwards composed a work, in four books, entitled "the Foundation, and Historical and Political Grandeur of the famous City of los Reyes (Lima)." It was drawn up with much study and care; as was likewise his "History of the Imperial City of Potosi, with the Discovery of its rich Mines." These productions were never printed, but several MS. copies are known to have been in the hands of the curious. As there is
a great

a great vacuity in the civil, political, and literary histories of that time, it is earnestly to be desired that they may be one day recovered. They were followed by a Treatise on Royal Confirmations ; by the Political State of the West Indies ; the Ecclesiastical and Political History of the Churches ; the History of the Supreme Council of the Indies ; the Paradise of the New World, an Apologetic Commentary on the Natural and Choice History of the West Indies ; Deliberations of the Council of the Indies ; the Patriarchal Dignity of the Indies, its Institution, Exercise, Pre-eminences, and Corresponding Prerogatives ; and the Grand Chancellor of the Indies. The above works were published between the years 1653 and 1658, with the exception of the former, which appeared so early as 1630, and of the latter, which is still preserved, in MS. in the library of the Duke of Alba at Madrid.

Our author's " Life of Santo Torribio " furnished the principal materials for nine other productions which appeared on the same subject, and was not equalled by any one of them in the purity and perspicuity of the style and notices. In his treatise entitled " Ancient and Modern Veils on the Faces of the Women, their Conveniences and Mischiefs, or Illustration of the Royal Pragmatics relative to the Disguise of Females," he discourses learnedly on the veils of all the nations of the world, and concludes by the following propositions : " That the women should go abroad uncovered in Castille, is a law which ought to be observed, without their being allowed to appear veiled or disguised.—That they should cover the face, by throwing the mantle over it, without affectation, contrivance, or artifice, is lawful and honest, and ought to be allowed so long as there is not any law which enacts the contrary. That they

they should cover the one half of the eye, disclosing a part of the view, is lascivious and unnecessary, and ought to be every where prohibited," &c.

In 1636 our author published, in Madrid, a quarto work, on the question : *whether chocolate breaks the ecclesiastical fast?* This work is replete with erudition, and is couched in a natural style, free from the pompous affectation which in his time began to infect the Spanish writers, and by which the language was corrupted and altered for more than a century. He also composed several tracts and orations on sacred subjects, together with a poem on the Conception of the Blessed Virgin ; insomuch that our illustrious Peruvian was not only a civilian of the most distinguished class, but likewise theologist, canonist, historian, orator, and poet. He has, notwithstanding, been denied a slight mention in the French Dictionary entitled, by misnomer, *the Impartial*.

As a reward for his eminent services, the king appointed him resident minister at Seville for the commerce of the Indies. As, however, his presence at the court could not be dispensed with, he was recalled shortly after to Madrid, where the post of principal chronologist of the Indies was bestowed on him, he being still allowed to retain the honours and emoluments of his ministerial appointment. The last production of the prolific pen of Don Antonio Pinelo, which remains to be recorded, is his History and Annals of Madrid, carried down to the year 1658 : it was preserved, in MS. in the library of Count Villa-Umbrosa, the president of Castille.

Friar Francisco del Castillo, a lay brother of the Order of Mercy, was born in Lima, where he was cut off, a few years ago, in the meridian of his life. It is not certain whether he
came

came into the world with an irreparable obstacle in the organs of vision, or was deprived of his sight in his infancy, so as to have been prevented from receiving the instructions which are bestowed on children from the earliest dawn of reason, and are continued, with a constant application, during their literary progress, at a time when the external means of collecting information preserve all their vigour. In despite of these invincible impediments, by which the channels of wisdom were choked, he was a prodigy of intelligence and comprehension. It was sufficient for him to hear a theme, however lofty, to be enabled to descant on it, and to bestow on it every illustration of which it was susceptible. He was delighted when the theologians expounded to him the most abstruse points of their profession; and repeated, without study or hesitation, what he had acquired without difficulty. When, at his request, the students conferred together on the subjects of their tasks, he instantly became more effectually master of them than were those by whom they had been communicated.

But what rendered his talent most conspicuous was versification. Without any other knowledge of the poetic art than that which he derived from Nature, he expressed himself in verse at once fluent, natural, beautiful, and copious. He proposed to himself subjects, and gave them extemporaneously in harmonious poetry. Without stop or interruption, he varied the kinds of metre at his own pleasure, or at the request of those who were present. The sublime theological, philosophical, philological, and historical points which he learned in conversation, flowed from his mouth, without quitting the company, in the richest vein of composition. Alone, he framed

a comedy, either on a subject given to him, or on one he drew from his fertile imagination : he selected the performers from among those who were assembled, and happily suggested to each of these actors and actresses, what was best adapted to his extemporaneous drama. He engaged with men of genius and talents, in the composition of verses answering to each other in succession (*carmina amœbæa*), and constantly obtained the superiority and triumph. Mythology supplied him with ornaments, history offered to him a store of subjects, the sciences endowed him with mental illumination, and he profited by the whole to display his inexhaustible facility. He played on various instruments : his common mode of versifying was to touch a guitar, and at the close of the day, to recapitulate all that he had done, said, treated, disputed, and discussed, without omitting any of the circumstances, which he constantly realized with grace and ingenuity, and preserved, in the intervening personages, their language and character. On this account, there was not any fashionable assemblage, any festival, banquet, rejoicing, or meeting, to which he was not invited and earnestly solicited.

The following case of mania, although it may not be singular in its kind, is interesting, inasmuch as it presents an additional beacon to those who, in attempting to accomplish that which is impracticable, incur the risk of an alienation of their reason.

Don Diego Lopez, a native of Pontevedra in Galicia, resided many years in Lima, and died there at an advanced age. He possessed more than a common share of mathematical knowledge ; and having heard that the Paris Academy of Sciences offered a considerable premium to him who should
discover,

discover, for the benefit of the longitudes at sea, the quadrature of the circle ; his wish for a reward, and for a celebrity, which would so effectually promote his happiness, agitated him to such a degree, that, laying aside every thought of business, he exerted all his powers and faculties, and drew up his principles, such as they were, in battle array. He began to draw lines, to make calculations, and to resolve problems, cherishing, after a time, the idea that the discovery was not impossible.

Confined to this sole labour, he formed tables, circles, and other apparatuses, in the construction of which he went so far as to employ wood. He filled with numbers and geometrical figures many reams of paper, which he kept, turned over, and combined incessantly, until at length he became fully persuaded that the precious discovery was made. He was so highly delighted with his invention, that he announced it to the whole world. The incredulity of many persons, obliged him to have recourse to the professors and teachers of the mathematics, who, however strenuously he maintained that he was right, constantly pronounced his labours to be as defective as useless. These very attempts to undeceive him, had the effect of engaging him to lay out in paper, the bounties which his friends bestowed on him for his support, to the end that he might be enabled to continue his operations. In his distress, he consoled himself with saying, that a nobleman of the first distinction in the capital was indebted to him six millions of piastres, as a reward for the secret of the quadrature, which he had revealed to him. Every day he repaired to the house of this nobleman, and did not leave it empty-handed ; insomuch that the efficacy of the impertinent claim of the maniac, and the philo-

philosophical patience and generosity of the supposed debtor, became the admiration of all.

At length he drew up a memorial, addressed to the viceroy, in which, styling himself the Hercules of geography, and the prodigy of the mathematics, he beseeched him, as an ardent lover of the sciences, and of their progress, to transmit his discovery to Paris, and to demand for him the reward, to which he thought himself justly entitled. When in the act of presenting it, he was suddenly snatched off by death, towards the close of the month of December 1790; and this toil of fifty years, contained in a prodigious heap of papers, was what he left as an inheritance to a natural daughter. Thus perished miserably this laborious investigator of the quadrature of the circle.

His case brings to our recollection another of a similar nature, but having a different object. Don Manuel de Torquemada, formerly principal equerry to the viceroy, the Marquis of Casteldosrius, augmented the number of maniacs. This man, polished, discreet, and highly agreeable in conversation, finally concentrated the whole of his ideas in the construction of a machine, simply consisting of a slab and muller, similar to those employed by the apothecaries in levigating their powders; with which he asserted that he could refine all the ores in Peru, and pave the streets of the capital with bars of silver. This persuasion took so strong a hold of him, that his society at length became tiresome and painful, as he could speak of nothing but his incomprehensible discovery.

LONGEVITY.

IN the town of San Sebastian de Huaraz, the capital of the province of Huaylas, died on the 12th of December, 1790, Don Juan Modesto de Castro-Monte, at the remarkable age of a hundred and thirty-three years. He was a native of the above province, in which he resided until his death. He was twice married, and left behind him eight children, a multitude of grand-children, and a still greater number belonging to the third and fourth degrees. A daughter by his first marriage, had, during his lifetime, three great grand-children already grown up. His second wife died at the age of ninety-six years, after having been eighty years the partner of his bed. He never on any occasion tasted either wine or strong liquors ; and was never subject to the slightest ailment, not even to a pain of the head. Until his latest years he preserved the use of his faculties free and entire. On the day of his decease there was not any visible change in his health : having received the sacrament from the hands of the Franciscan friars residing in the above place, he died without any pang, beside that which the laws of human nature, when it has reached its precise boundary, bring with them. His equitable, compassionate, and liberal character, procured him the love and esteem of all the inhabitants of the province, by whom his loss was sensibly felt. A frugal life, separated from the tumultuous passions of the world, and devoted to the innocent pleasures of agriculture, secured to him the enjoyment of that felicity, which in the ancient law was the benediction of heaven—a long life and a numerous posterity.

METEOROLOGY.

THE following account of an extraordinary meteor seen in the valley of Canete, on the evening of the 25th of December, 1790, was communicated to the Academical Society of Lima by an inhabitant of the city of Canete.

“ The sun having set at twelve minutes after six in the evening, had scarcely, by its absence, begun to obscure the night, when, the atmosphere being clear and serene, a dusky meteor, running north and south below the zenith, presented itself to the view, and illuminated the whole of the valley. Its figure was that of a segment of a circle, about 115 degrees in circumference, the two extremities of which, perpendicular to the horizon, were accurately defined, and suspended in the air. Its equal aspect in every part, denoted its thickness to be about half a yard. It was embellished, or rather rendered terrific, by the mixture of black and ash colours, which resembled an overshadowed iris. It remained fixed and motionless in its primitive situation until half past ten o’clock, when it began to be dispersed by the rays of light emitted by the moon.

“ While the people, with uplifted hands, implored the Deity to suspend the calamities which this sinister token, as they thought it, announced to them, my mind was wholly occupied by reflections on the nature of meteors. The knowledge, such as it is, which I possess on that subject, impelled me to make a philosophical exhortation to the spectators, and to combat their vain terrors ; but I was deterred by the recollection of the austral aurora which appeared at Cusco in the year 1742, and did not wish to bring down mischief on my head.

head. The inhabitants of the above city, struck with awe at so rare a phenomenon, vented their curses on the learned Marquis of Valle-Umbroso, who formed the hazardous resolution to attack their prejudices. I therefore left the persuasion they entertained, to make all the impressions which are usual in these cases ; and endeavoured to explore the cause of the above-mentioned phenomenon, which I believe to be as follows.

“ The spring was very rainy, and even on several days during the summer, a greater quantity of water fell on the coast than in the severest winter. It is natural to suppose that the abundant rain, combined with the great humidity of this valley, must have impregnated the earth with infinite vapours, which, being blended with so many other exhalations, would rise into the atmosphere, volatilized by the heat produced, as well by the perpendicular direction of the solar rays in summer, as by the commotion of the central fire introduced by themselves into the present station. The heights there occupied by the aforementioned vapours must have been proportionate to their different specific gravity, by which they would equilibrate themselves with the columns of the aerial fluid. Thus some would rise to the upper part, while others would remain in the lower.

“ The winds which, from the eastern quarter, are wont to blow gently at five in the evening, wandering and without any particular destination, having united them in such a way as that they appeared to be equally distant in every part at sunset, the imagination figured this arc. The tranquillity which prevailed, and the mutual attraction between some of the corpuscles and the others, kept them stationary, until the east wind, blowing with some degree of force, at the rising of the moon,

moon, divided and extinguished them. In the *acta Eruditorum*, printed at Leipsic*, it will be seen that, on the 4th of March, 1728, an arc, formed by the concurrence of several clouds, was observed at Germendorf: its projection, N. E. and S. W. led to a supposition that it originated in the S. E. whence the wind then blew.

“ May I be permitted to hazard another conjecture, in an age when physical novelties are rated at so high a price. I believe that the above-mentioned arc was a true iris, occasioned by the reflection of some of the stars which were setting. The demonstration is clear: it being granted that the atmosphere was charged with a multitude of atoms, and terrestrial vapours, these would, with the cold of the night, be gradually condensed, and would descend, according as their gravity should exceed that of the air in which they swam, as happens in the case of rain. As our situation was between these descending exhalations and the above-mentioned stars, the former of which were in front of us, and the latter at our side, it follows that the centre of the one, or of the other, would, according as we varied our position, coincide with our optical axes. This hypothesis being admitted, all the luminous rays with which the constellation invested the vapours, would fall on the eye of the spectator at the same angle, equal to that of its incidence. The objects which are seen at an identical angle, appear to be at an equal distance; but this equal distance could not have been verified, unless the atoms which divided the valley had represented an arc, according to the principles of optics and geo-

* December, 1730.

metry : it is therefore natural to infer, that it was an iris produced by the before-mentioned cause.

“ The variety of its colours was the effect, not merely of the decomposition of the light, but likewise of the quantity refracted : where it was least, the black was represented ; and where greatest, the ash-colour. As the beams of the moon extinguished the faint splendour of these stars, it is not extraordinary that, on its rising, we should have been deprived of this rare phenomenon, as would happen in the case of the lunar irises, on the approach of the blushing dawn of Aurora.

“ That goddess has already begun to illumine the plains ; and the cries of the shepherd oblige me to put out the candle, to terminate my philosophical meditations, and to proceed to my agricultural labours.”

In the course of the year 1791, five earthquakes, four of which occurred in the capital, and the fifth in the city of Pasco, are recorded in the Peruvian Mercuries. The details relative to them are introduced by the following reflections.

There is not any country in the world, in which naturalists ought to apply themselves more sedulously to the observation of earthquakes, than in ours. The greater part of their history presents tragical scenes, in which the violent convulsions of the earth have not only destroyed the fine productions of the hands of man, but have likewise deranged many of those of Nature, by which they were supported. As not any physical revolution happens in the globe, without being preceded by certain warnings emanating from the very dispositions whence they originate ; if, by the dint of a constant application, we could succeed in characterizing them, we might perhaps escape many of these ravages. The annals of natural philosophy

relate, that Anaximander and Pherecydes possessed the art of prognosticating earthquakes ; and Don Juan de Barrenechea, professor *ad interim* of mathematics in the university of St. Mark, endeavoured to reduce to a computation, by the means of his astronomical clock, this celestial virtue. He did not, however, on this occasion, lay any stress on those prophecies, or astrological dreams, the evidences of the small advancement of kingdoms in the true sciences, that refer to remote times ; but on the knowledge of the changes of the atmosphere, and of the superficies of the earth, which precede its convulsions. The direction of the latter, which is, generally speaking, the same with that of the chains of mountains, ought likewise to be examined, on account of the advantages it presents. The deep excavations made by the Persians from mount Taurus to the mountains Caucasus and Ararat, to facilitate the transpiration of the inflammable substances, freed those regions from the earthquakes which had been frequently observed to follow the direction of the above-mentioned mountains.

On the 8th of February, 1791, at seven in the evening, an earthquake was felt in Lima, with two pretty strong shocks, having an interval of a minute between them. It made a loud report ; and its direction was S. E. N. W., nearly the same with that followed by all the earthquakes which have made such dreadful devastations in the capital.

On the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th, the river overflowed its banks. This arose from a copious fall of rain which extended for the space of sixty or seventy leagues, beginning at the first elevated land which presents itself in front of Chincha, and following the direction of the mountains, which is parallel to the coast as far as the lofty ground in front of Pativilca.

vilca. This rain was extraordinary, not relatively to its station, it being that of the waters in the mountainous territory, but with reference to the quantity, seeing that, although it did not last for the space of two hours, it formed new rivers, destroyed various plantations, and desolated several towns.

On the 21st, at three in the afternoon, another earthquake was felt in Lima. It was short, and but of small intensity. Its direction was the same with that of the preceding one of the 8th; and it may thence be inferred that each of them had the same origin.

On the 4th of July of the above year, at half past five in the morning, Lima was subjected to another shock of an earthquake. Its direction was N. E. S. W.; its duration somewhat less than a minute; and it was of middle intensity.

On the 14th of October, at seventeen minutes after nine o'clock at night, a violent shock of an earthquake, which lasted five seconds, was felt in the city of Pasco. Its direction was N. E. S. W., and its motion undulatory. The sky was clouded, and very obscure in the N. and N. E. The noise by which it was accompanied was very loud, and resembled the regular discharges of a regiment, or those described in the Literary Memoirs of Great Britain*, as the effect of the meteor which appeared there on the night of the 19th of March, 1718. Earthquakes being very unusual in the above city, this one excited a particular surprize, on account of the singularity of the noise and movement.

The order of succession both of the one and the other, unquestionably arose from this circumstance, that there being in all those places, immense depositions of pyrites, several mines of that substance, stationed from distance to distance, com-

* Memoires Litteraires de la Grande Bretagne, t. i. p. 141.

municated with each other by small conductors. The first of them, attacked by some portion of water, &c. having taken fire, the igneous matter was successively imparted to the following ones, which, by their explosions, and by the collision and precipitation of the detached fragments, represented the discharges of artillery.

On the 26th of December, a shock of an earthquake, the most considerable which had occurred in the course of the year, was felt in Lima. Its duration was one minute thirty seconds, somewhat more or less; and its direction S. E., N. W.

According to Don Antonio Ulloa, the continual vapours by which the sky is obscured, in the winter season, in every part of low Peru, are occasioned by the prevalence of the north winds; but this opinion is controverted by a correspondent of the Peruvian Mercury on the following grounds. That, in 1791, on the days when the dews fell abundantly, as well as on those which preceded them, the winds blew constantly from the S. and S. W., and not from the N. The cause of the above phenomenon was not therefore to be ascribed to the latter winds. "It may be objected," he observes, "that these winds, having a considerable elevation, may not be perceived in the lower part of the atmosphere, their operation being entirely confined to the higher part. This might be granted, provided the southerly winds had ceased to blow in the inferior region of the air; but as they have been unremitting, and have maintained the same disposition as in the preceding seasons, a similar objection cannot be allowed. The blowing of contrary winds, even although one should be inferior, and the other superior, instead of fixing the vapours, would dissipate them, and would prevent them from being condensed, which can alone enable them to produce the wetting fogs."

Meteorological

Meteorological Observations, in degrees and tenths of degrees of Fahrenheit's Thermometer, made in the City of Lima, at mid-day, in the open air, and in the shade, from January 1791 to March 1792 inclusive.

Days of the Month.	1791.												1792.		
	January.	February.	March.	April.	May.	June.	July.	August.	September.	October.	November.	December.	January.	February.	March.
1	71.5	76.1	80.4	77.5	74.6		67.0		62.0	67.5	66.0	70.0	74.0	80.0	84.0
2	.....	.....	81.5	.....	73.5		66.5		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
3	.....	75.9	82.3	77.0	.....		68.0		.....	.....	.....	.....	76.0	.....	.....
4	.....	78.5	.....	.....	73.8				.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5	73.4	.....	81.5	77.5	72.5		67.2		65.0	69.5	66.0	73.0	.....	.....	83.0
6	73.1	80.3	78.0	75.8	71.5		.....		67.2		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
7	74.1	81.0	79.2	.....	.....		.....		.....	67.8	.....	.....	75.5	.....	.....
8	76.5	78.8	.....	.....	72.0		.....		.....	67.0	65.6	.....	.....	.....	81.0
9	76.9	81.5	78.9	.....	73.0		.....		65.0	66.0	67.6	.....	79.0	.....	.....
10	77.2	79.0	.....	.....	72.5		.....		.....	70.0	.....	75.0	.....	80.5	82.0
11	78.5	81.0	77.0	78.0	72.0		.....		.....	71.5	.....	.....	.....	79.2	81.0
12	76.9	.....	79.2	77.5	69.0		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
13	.....	79.2	79.2	77.0	.....		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
14	.....	80.3	.....	.....	70.0		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	80.5	78.8	.....
15	75.8	80.5	78.9	75.8	.....		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
16	75.0	79.5	77.4	76.5	73.5		66.0		62.5	.....	.....	72.5	.....	.....	79.8
17	75.2	81.6	76.5	.....	.....		65.2		65.0	68.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
18	78.0	.....	77.2	78.0	.....		66.0		.....	.....	69.5	.....	79.2	.....	.....
19	.....	79.5	.....	75.0	.....		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	82.5	.....
20	79.2	80.3	.....	.....	70.5		.....		.....	68.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
21	78.5	80.6	79.9	.....	69.0		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	79.2
22	79.2	.....	.....	75.5	.....		64.5		.....	.....	.....	.....	81.8	.....	.....
23	75.8	81.8	.....	.....	70.0		65.2		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
24	77.5	81.5	81.5	77.0	69.0		65.0		.....	.....	.....	72.5	.....	.....	78.0
25	78.2	80.5	79.9	78.0	.....		.....		.....	66.5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
26	.....	.....	76.5	.....	70.0		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
27	80.0	78.5	77.0	76.0	69.5		66.5		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	77.7
28	78.5	.....	77.0	78.0	69.0		67.0		.....	.....	67.0	.....	.....	.....	.....
29	.....	.....	77.6	74.0	68.5		68.0		.....	.....	.....	75.0	.....	.....	.....
30	79.5	.....	.....	73.0	70.0		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	76.8
31	78.0	.....	.....	.....	69.0		.....		.....	.....	.....	.....	80.0	.....	.....

METEOROLOGY.

†† The thermometers employed in making the observations, were of the manufacture of the celebrated Adams. The days opposite to which the degrees are not marked, have invariably the same temperature with the one which stands above them.

In the foregoing meteorological table, the months of June and August 1791 have been unavoidably omitted. Many curious and interesting results may, notwithstanding, be drawn from a comparison between the respective temperatures of the air in that part of Peru, and Great Britain. At Lima, the winter begins at the latter end of June ; and consequently, although the table may, on account of the above omission, be in some measure defective, sufficient information may be collected from it relative to the degrees of temperature in each of the seasons. It appears, then, that the greatest heat at Lima, during the continuance of the meteorological observations, made at noon, in the open air, and in the shade, was 84° ; and the lowest temperature of the atmosphere, 62° ; a variation of 22° only, the lowest of which was 30° above the freezing point. During the summer, the gentle breezes from the south moderate the heat ; and the slight degree of cold felt in the winter season, is owing to the constant fogs, which not only intercept the rays of the sun, but, by affording a shelter to the winds, enable them to retain the particles of cold they collect beneath the frozen zone.

The meteorological journal for 1791, kept at the apartments of the Royal Society, gives, as the result of the observations made at two in the afternoon of each day, withoutside, 80° as the highest temperature of the air in London ; and 31° as the lowest, at that particular hour. The extremes are not, however, so distant and marked as they have been in other years. For instance, on the following year, 1792, the thermometer rose, in the summer, at two in the afternoon of a particular day, to 84° ; and sunk in the winter, at the same hour, to 26° , or 8° below the freezing point. In this case there was a difference of 58° of temperature ; while that difference in Lima, as has been seen, did not exceed 22° . In the latter city,
the

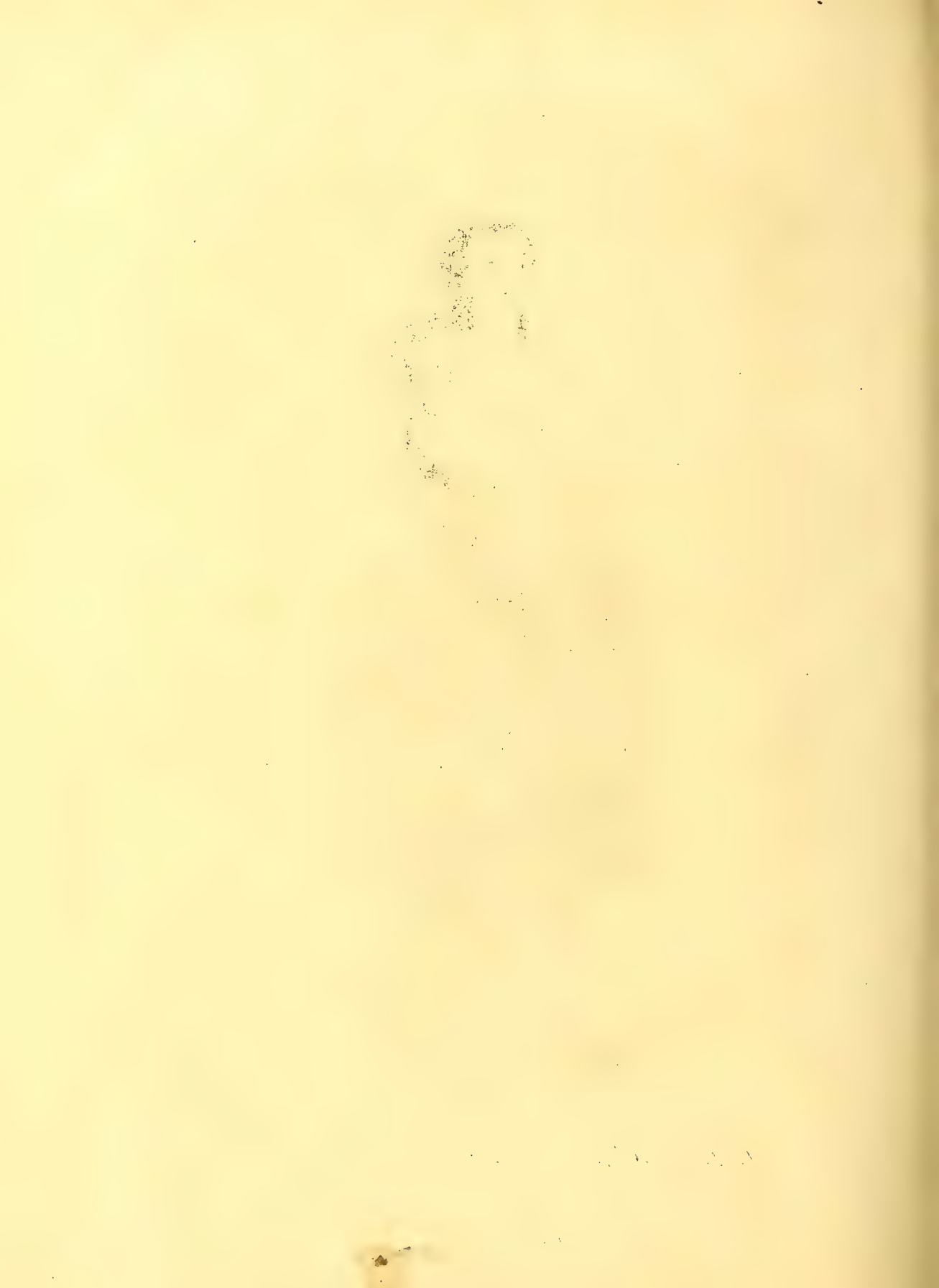
the observations were all of them made at noon : the greatest variation to be found in the table, of the temperature of any one month, is $8^{\circ}.5$, in that of January 1791, when the heats prevailed ; and the least variation is $3^{\circ}.5$, in the month of July, belonging to the mild season. In London, in the above year, the greatest variation in the observations of any one month, made at two in the afternoon, is 28° , in the month of June, that variation being six degrees more considerable than the one resulting from the observations of the whole year in Lima ; and the least variation is 16° , in the month of March. But a still more striking fact, relative to the changes of the temperature of the air, in establishing a comparison on that point between the two capitals, is the following : that on one particular day, the 13th of September, between seven in the morning and two in the afternoon, a space of seven hours only, there was in London a variation of 21° , the mercury having risen from 52° to 73° , within 1° of its complete annual range in Lima. The greatest variation of the degree of atmospherical heat, between any two consecutive days at Lima, was $5^{\circ}.5$, namely, between the 27th of November, when the mercury stood at $72^{\circ}.5$, and the 28th, when it sunk to 67° . In London, the greatest variation in the observations made in the afternoon, was, under the same circumstances, 14° , between the 7th and 8th of June, when the mercury sunk from 80° to 66° ; and between the 22d and 23d of December, when it rose from 34 to 48. The mean degree of temperature of the coolest month at Lima, September, was $64^{\circ}.5$, and comes the nearest to that of the same month of the same year in London, the latter having, agreeably to the observations of the afternoon, been $69^{\circ}.9$. The mean degree of temperature of the month of March, the hottest which occurred

occurred in Lima in 1791, was $78^{\circ}.4$, and exceeded that of the hottest month of the same year in London, August, by $9^{\circ}.4$. The March of the following year was still hotter in Lima, the mean degree of temperature having been $80^{\circ}.25$. The cause of the difference of more than 9° of mean temperature between the two capitals, at the same time that the mercury was never higher at Lima than it has been in London, appears to have been owing to the constancy of the heats in the former city, and to the few variations to which the atmosphere is there subjected. Between the 17th and 30th of September 1791, both days included, there was not the slightest variation in the observations made at noon. In London, on the other hand, the fluctuations, which are at all times unceasing, produced in the month of June 1791, according to the observations of the afternoon, varieties of temperature to the extent of 28° . But for the presence of the southerly winds which prevail on the coast, the changes of temperature at Lima would be still less, as in other parts of Peru. In the plains of Bombon, there is a variation of 6° only, throughout the year; and at Santa Fé, the observations of two successive years afforded a result of only 3° of variation.

✓ To complete the series of subjects introduced into this work, an Indian woman of a village near Lima, holding in her arms an infant, is represented in *Plate XX*. in her simple and rustic garb. The portraiture of this female peasant may be regarded as a companion to the male Indian wearing the poncho, delineated in *Plate XVII*.



Indian Woman of a Village, near Lima.



A P P E N D I X.

APPENDIX.

HISTORY OF THE MISSIONS OF CAXAMARQUILLA, WITH THE ORIGIN AND LOSS OF THOSE OF MANOA ; INTENDED AS AN INTRODUCTION TO THE RECENT TRAVELS OF FATHERS SOBREVIELA AND GIRBAL, IN THE REMOTE PARTS OF PERU.

IF by heroism, be understood that generous virtue of the soul by which man renders himself in a manner superior to his feeble nature, and approaches the divinity : if the hero be the offspring of the love which reigns between that divinity and the human heart ; * then must this sublime title exclusively belong to those faithful imitators of our Saviour, who, in despite of sufferings, privations, and fatigues, and at the risk of their own existence, devote their lives to the happiness and prosperity of their fellow creatures.† Agreeably to this sentiment, Alexander, Tamerlane, and the victorious Frederick, were no other than evil geniuses born to desolate the earth. Posterity, that impartial judge of human actions, will certainly preserve their names ; but will tremble lest their spirits should be re-animated, and should again produce the melancholy catastrophes which past ages have witnessed. The superb *mausolea*, pyramids, and obelisks, with which their ashes are covered, cannot be regarded as memorials of gratitude and love. Sepulchres, bathed in innocent blood, and agitated by the rattling of the chains that once oppressed vanquished nations, banish the tender and pacific ideas which beneficence

* Heros dicitur etiam ab *eros* grecè amor, quia Heroes nati sunt amore Deorum ac hominum.—*Facciolat. Dict. verb. Heros.*

† Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.—*St. John*, chap. xv. v. 13.

and humanity inspire. Rewards like these are solely due to the adventurous propagators of christianity. Their memory, were it even possible to efface it from the fragile altars erected by our veneration, would find a fixed asylum in the breast of the sage, who, in his silent meditations, does justice to the ferocious warrior, to the pacificator, and to the virtuous citizen.

As, however, the enterprises of the latter are not accompanied with the pomp and splendour, the seductive charms of which lead man to soar to the pitch of the works of the great world, they would not have been executed, had they not been dictated and cherished by a philosophy which is purely celestial. By its means alone can such a religion of charity have been established, and so many weak mortals inspired with a zeal which has propelled them to travel over the four quarters of the globe, with the sole view of being useful to their fellow creatures.

America, amid the calamities of which it has been the theatre, has oftentimes felt the benign influence of the evangelical spirit. By the consolatory voice of its apostles, the savages have been collected together, and formed into intelligent and industrious tribes. Gentle persuasives, tender offices, example, and the repeated sacrifice of life, without any other motive than that of rendering them service, have had a more powerful effect on them than would have been produced by harsh and coercive measures. A relation of all the missions to the Andes of Peru would fully establish this truth, and would give rise to many deep and serious reflections. On the present occasion, we shall confine ourselves to the history of those of Caxamarquilla, in which are comprehended the discovery and loss of those of Manoa, and of those directed towards the banks of the famous Ucayali. The measures adopted by the court of Spain for the re-establishment of the latter*; the peregrinations, by the river Huallaga, which have been recently concluded by father Manuel Sobreviela, superior of the college of Ocopa; and those which, by his order, have been likewise undertaken with the same view, by the river Ucayali, by Father Narciso Girbal, demand an elucidation which will be best conveyed by a detailed account of the aforesaid missions.

The province of Caxamarquilla, or Patas, belongs to the Intendency of Truxillo. It runs, north and south, from seven to eight degrees thirty minutes south latitude. It is bounded to the north and north-east by the province of Chacapoyas; to the north-west by the junction of the river Marañon with that of Caxa-

* In the year 1787, five royal ordonnances, and as many decrees, were published, relatively to the re-establishment and preservation of the Manoa missions. For this purpose, a fortified town was planned at the confluence of the rivers Mayro and Pozuzo.

marquilla ; to the west by the river Conchucos ; to the south by the river Huamallies ; and to the east by the Andes mountains, from which it is divided by a branch of difficult ascent, separated from the great chain. The rocky territory in the vicinity of these mountains, and the plains bordering on the river Huallaga, were in the last century peopled by various tribes of barbarous Indians, who acknowledged no other superior than their elders or captains. Addicted to plunder, they attacked and ravaged the neighbouring tribes, more especially those of Condurmarca and Colalay. By a lucky accident, in the year 1670, a shepherd penetrated through the thick forests which served them as a natural defence, and inspired them with a taste and an affection for the gentle manners of the converted Indians. Actuated by this sudden change in their sentiments, they entered into a mutual and pacific commerce with the latter ; and, laying aside their savage ferocity, aspired to the advantages of society and religion. Under these circumstances, the minor friars, provincials of the Order of the Twelve Apostles of Lima, obtained the Viceroy's permission to undertake this spiritual conquest. It was entered on in the year 1676, by the reverend father Juan de Campos, accompanied by two lay friars, Joseph Araujo and Francisco Gutierrez.

Among the different nations of wandering Indians, dispersed over this mountainous territory, those of the Cholones and Hibitos were the most considerable in point of numbers. Father Gutierrez collected and established the former in a large town, entitled San Buenaventura de Apisoncho. The second were, by the management of father Araujo, established in another town, named Jesus de Ochancha. In both of them an exact order of moral and political government was observed. The Indians having been divided into bands and companies, regular hours were appointed for instruction and labour ; and the indispensable obligation was laid on them, to contribute alternately to the maintenance of their spiritual guides. By these means they were subjected to a constant application, and the fathers supplied with whatever was necessary for their maintenance, with the exception of wine and meal.

After the death of these apostolical missionaries, disputes having arisen between the two nations, it was found necessary to divide each of them into two distinct tribes. To the Cholones were allotted the towns of Pampa-hermosa and San Buenaventura del Valle, both situated on the western banks of the river Huallaga. The Hibitos were stationed at Jesus of Mount Sion, between Pampa-hermosa and the valley, and at Jesus of Pajaten, at the confluence of the river thus named with the Aspur, which, having formed by their junction the river Catena, empty themselves westward into the above-named Huallaga. For the aid and convenience, both of
the

the reverend fathers, and of the converted Indians, an hospital was established in the province of Caxamarquilla, at which a priest was stationed with the title of president, and whose duty it was to direct and superintend all the missionaries. By the means of these arrangements, and of the regulations adopted by the founders, the above tribes have been kept in peaceful obedience.

The Cholones Indians are corpulent, well made, and industrious. Their most common pursuits are agriculture, hunting, and fishing. Their wives cultivate cotton, which they spin and weave to clothe the family the husband nourishes. The Hibitos are less corpulent, and their wives comelier, more cleanly, and more liberal, than those of the Cholones, whose great quality is economy.

Their ordinary diet consists of wild boars, monkies, salt fish, plantains, mani*, yucas, and wild fruits. The dress of the Indians who inhabit the mountains differs from that of those who reside in the towns. The former simply cover themselves with a cuzma, or short cotton shirt reaching to the knees; but the latter add an outer garment, either of cotton or of coarse baize. The women wear a long cotton gown, reaching to the ancles, and confined by a band at the waist; over this garment they throw a mantle of baize. On festivals, and particular occasions, they are clad in a gown, made after the Spanish fashion; and this they likewise wear when they set out for the province of Patas, to carry to their husbands a supply of coca†. These Indians are in the constant habit of bathing in the rivers, before sunrise, with a view to the preservation of their health. The disease which makes the greatest havoc among them is the small pox; for which reason, as soon as the slightest symptom of its having broken out appears among them, they retire precipitately to the mountains, where they disperse themselves in every direction, and remain until they are certain that the disease has been extinguished. They are utter strangers to ambition, avarice, theft, and dissensions, which seem to be defects and vices inherent in a civilized state of society. In their stead, incontinence, and drunkenness, by which a rustic life is more particularly characterized, are very prevalent. The masato is their favourite drink.

* This fruit, which is of the size and shape of a pine-cone, is eaten either boiled, or as a conserve.—*Ulloa's Voyage.*

† The leaves of this plant, to which a slight reference has already been made, are chewed by the Indians, who, for that purpose, combine with them a kind of chalk, or whitish earth, called *mambi*. The coca is so highly nutritive and invigorating, that they are enabled by it to labour for entire days without taking any other nourishment. When they can no longer procure it, they find a gradual decay of strength. It is said by them to preserve the teeth from decay, and to fortify the stomach.—*Ulloa's Voyage.*

The provincials of the Order of the Twelve Apostles maintained the above missions until the year 1754, when they were conceded to the missionaries of the college of Ocopa. The docility and intelligence which the latter found in the newly acquired tribes, suggested to them the expediency of extending their spiritual conquests. For this purpose, and with the aid of their new converts, they undertook repeated journeys, by the eastern part of the territory in their possession, to the mountains which separate that territory from the Pampa del Sacramento. The result of these expeditions, which were continued until the year 1757, and in the course of which the missionaries and their suite were sometimes obliged to travel on foot, exposed to hunger, thirst, and almost every privation, during thirty or forty days successively, was the discovery of the river Manoa. On these occasions, some of the Indian guides fell a sacrifice to the hardships and fatigues they had to encounter. The conversion of several wandering tribes, dwelling on the banks of the above river, rendered the missionaries forgetful of the continual sufferings and fatigues they had undergone, and stimulated them to new researches.

In the month of February, 1757, the reverend fathers Santa Rosa, Fresneda, and Cavello, set out, accompanied by three hundred Indians, partly Cholonos, partly Hibitos. On the 4th day of March, at day break, they reached one of the Manoa towns, named Masemague. Surprized at the sudden appearance of so considerable a number of persons, the inhabitants took up arms, and an unavoidable combat ensued, in which several were killed on each side, among them father Cavello. The only advantage which the missionaries reaped from this conflict was the capture of a boy, and of two girls. The elder of these females, being soon instructed in the christian doctrine, civilized, and taught to converse in the Spanish tongue, excited a new fervour in the breast of the reverend fathers, to whom she gave precise information relative to her own tribe, and to those by which the banks of the famous Ucayali are peopled, representing to them the facility of reducing these tribes to obedience, and tendering her services as interpreter. The missionaries, animated by these persuasions, repeated their excursions in the year 1759, accompanied by twenty-eight European soldiers, partly Spaniards, and partly Portuguese. Being unaccustomed to travel on foot on so rocky a soil, the soldiery very soon revolted, and not only returned back themselves, but prevented the reverend fathers from proceeding onward.

The fervour of the latter was augmented in proportion to their disappointments and mortifications. Friars Miguel Salcedo, and Francisco de San Joseph, set out, towards the end of May 1760, from St. Buenaventura del Valle, with ninety Indians, seven Europeans, and the young Manoa girl, who had been baptized, and
had

had received the name of Anna Rosa. On the 8th of July they reached the banks of the river Manoa, where they perceived two canoes filled with Indians. On their approach, Anna Rosa prevailed on an Indian, named Rungato, to land from his canoe. The caresses and affability of the missionaries soon prevailed on him to lay aside his fear, and, by the dint of a few entreaties, he was led to conduct them to his tribe, which consisted of about two hundred and twenty souls, inhabiting a small village named Suaray. Here the reverend fathers were received with every token of sincerity and pleasure, manifested by the Indians in their dances and rustic repasts; and were hailed by the gentle appellation of friends.

It appeared, by the testimony of several of these Indians, that their nation had formerly maintained an intercourse with the Spaniards. Recurring to their traditions, they dated their origin from the ancient Setebos. From the year 1657 to 1686 the latter occupied the banks of the Pachitea, and extended their boundaries to the river Ucayali, where a missionary, friar Manuel Biedma, converted a considerable number of them, and rendered their condition highly flourishing. Exposed to the attacks and inroads of their turbulent neighbours the Callisecas, a portion of these converted Indians accompanied their spiritual guides in their flight, and proceeded by the Payanzos tribes to those of Panatahua. The remainder passed from the banks of the Ucayali to those of the Manoa, a distance of twenty leagues. By the means of this ancestry, some notions of the christian religion were handed down to and propagated among them, but blended with a thousand errors and absurdities. They believe in God, the dispenser of rewards and punishments. They acknowledge Jesus Christ, and his holy mother; but they assimilate the latter with the Deity, maintaining her to be the co-author and conservatrix of the universe. They practise baptism, and sprinkle on the heads of the children newly born a quantity of lime juice, without uttering a syllable, or making any sign. Friar St. Joseph, who, with seven Europeans, remained among the Manoa Indians, after the departure of father Salcedo, represented to his Prelates how much he had to suffer from hunger, from the annoyance of insects, and from the cruelty of the Indians. Being unprovided with the necessary implements for cutting down the large shrubs on the mountains, and for tilling the land, his crops had been very unproductive. These implements were shortly after liberally supplied.

The conversion of the Manoa Indians, although inconsiderable, was extremely interesting, inasmuch as it led to that of the other tribes which are scattered over the Pampa del Sacramento, and on the banks of the Ucayali. Twenty leagues to the south of Manoa, the Sipibos, sprung from the ferocious Callisecas, by whom the Payanzos missionaries were cut off, inhabit the banks of the river Pisqui. They live,

live, not in towns or villages, but in distinct huts, insomuch that, although their number does not exceed one thousand, they occupy more than twenty leagues of territory north and south, and from ten to twelve east and west. The implacable hatred which had subsisted between the Setebos and Sipibos, since the former were, in a bloody conflict in the year 1736, vanquished by the latter, seemed to render all union and friendly intercourse between these tribes impracticable. At length, however, after a lapse of four years, they were reconciled by the entreaties and persuasion of the reverend missionaries. Friar Juan de Dios Fresneda, without a moment's delay, seized on the favourable opportunity, and collected the Sipibos, whom he established in a town, in the vicinity of the river Pisqui, which received the name of Santo Domingo. This event was soon followed by the voluntary submission of the Conibos, one of the most irrational and extravagant tribes of the Enim empire*. They dwelt on the eastern bank of the Gran Paro, near its confluence with the Pachitea. In the year 1685, several Franciscan monks descended the rivers Enne and Pachitea, and reached their settlement, on which they bestowed the name of St. Michael. Father Richter, a jesuit belonging to the conversions of Mayanas, afterwards proceeded thither by the Ucayali; but, in imitation of those who had preceded him, confined himself to a short visit to the establishment, notwithstanding he met with a very flattering reception among these unconverted Indians, who still retained a distant recollection of the kindness and benevolence of the Franciscans. In the sequel, father Fresneda proceeded to St. Michael, to take on himself their spiritual direction.

Under these favourable circumstances the Manoa missions began to flourish, and to hold out the promise of much eventual success. In the midst, however, of these hopes, the number of the missionaries having been gradually diminished, and their operations embracing a great extent of territory, they were incapable of stifling the rancour and jealousies which subsisted among these savage tribes, who discharged their fury on their peaceable benefactors, by whom they had been united in the bonds of fellowship.

A road which had been opened from Pampa-hermosa to Manoa, to prevent any untimely accidents, was found scarcely practicable by fathers Santa Rosa, Menendez, Errans, Asnar, and Jayme, who had set out for the new conversions, and

* In the peregrinations of the reverend fathers Sobreviela and Girbal, an account of this empire, with many interesting particulars relative to the customs of its inhabitants, its boundaries, rivers, &c. will be given.

were accompanied by several lay brothers, and three soldiers. Having to pass on foot over a very extensive and rugged tract of country, the Indians of Caxamarquilla, who formed their suite, were so exhausted by fatigues, that it was deemed expedient not to risk the sacrifice of the lives of this civilized race, for the precarious benefit of the savage nations whose conversion the expedition had in view.

An ancient map, found in the archives of the college of Ocopa, having pointed out that, by the route of Pozuzu, it was possible to navigate, by the Pachitea, to the Ucayali and Manoa, after having, in the first instance, embarked at the junction of the river Pozuzu with the Mayro, two expeditions were undertaken on this very slender information. In consequence of an error in the map, the first did not reach the Manoa river within the limited time; and the effect of this delay was, that father Francis fell into the hands of the Casivos, a wandering tribe, by whom he was slain. The second expedition, which was under the direction of friar Manuel Gil, commissary of the missions, was undertaken in 1767. Notwithstanding it was more prudently managed than the preceding one, the only consequence which resulted from it was, that the missionaries collected the melancholy information of the death of all the fathers belonging to the conversions. Rungato, the Indian who, as has been already mentioned, was met with on a former occasion at the entrance into Manoa, had instigated the three nations of Setebos, Sipibos, and Conivos, to cut off all the missionaries distributed among the different tribes.

The loss of the Manoa missions has been sensibly felt, not only by the reverend fathers missionaries, but likewise by Peru, and by the monarch himself. The possession of Manoa secured to the latter a vast and fertile territory. The peregrinations of father Sobreviela, and those which just have been concluded, under his authority, by father Girbal, hold out the prospect of its being speedily restored to us. Under an enlightened governor, who is aware of all the importance of such an enterprise, the above fathers have been supplied with whatever was necessary to its accomplishment. It is with much pleasure that we engage in the task of publishing their travels, entertaining, as we do, in common with every feeling breast, a profound sense of gratitude for the benefits conferred on any portion of the human race.

PEREGRINATION BY THE RIVER HUALLAGA TO THE LAKE OF GRAN
COCAMA, UNDERTAKEN BY FATHER MANUEL SOBREVIOLA IN THE
YEAR 1790.

THE failure of the missions to the Manoa tribes is the more to be lamented, as it contributed to the loss of the celebrated *Pampa del Sacramento**. There is not, perhaps, in any part of the two Americas a territory more advantageously situated, or which boasts an equal fertility. It is bounded to the south by the rivers Pozuzu and Mayro; to the west by the Huallaga; to the north by the Maranon; and to the east by the Ucayali†. It is thus surrounded by the most capacious rivers in the world, which communicate with the North Sea, and with the principal provinces of the three viceroyalties of South America. It is intersected by several other considerable rivers, which empty themselves into the former; and describes a peninsula, from the centre of which a maritime commerce may be carried on to every part of the globe. Its greatest extent runs north and south between four degrees and a half, and nine degrees fifty-seven minutes, from the confluence of the Ucayali with the Maranon, to the river Mayro. Its breadth varies in consequence of the great windings of the Ucayali; but may in general be taken at between 302 and 305

* This great plain was discovered on the 21st of June 1726, by the converts of Pozuzu, attached to the Panataguas missions, belonging to the provincials of the order of the Twelve Apostles: it was entitled *del Sacramento*, in consequence of the discovery having been made on the day of the feast of *Corpus Christi*. This appears by a MS. History, in the possession of the author, of the Missions of the Monks of the Seraphic Order on the Andes mountains. Father Rodriguez Tena, in his great MS. work on the above missions, ascribes this name to friar Simon Xara, by whom the plain was explored in 1732.

† We have before us several manuscripts belonging to the libraries of the convent of San Francisco, and of the college of Ocopa, which differ from us as to the eastern boundaries; some of them contending, that by the Pampa del Sacramento should be understood the immense plain which runs eastward between the Cordillera of Brazil and the Andes mountains. In such a case it would extend at least 600 leagues north and south, and 300 west and east, comprehending one hundred and eighty thousand square leagues of a level superficies, fertile, and intersected by rivers, which might contain with ease the one hundred and thirty millions of souls allotted to Europe by the German writer Susmilk, leaving sufficient ground for forests and pastures. It is certain, however, that the most ancient manuscripts understand by the Pampa del Sacramento the peninsula which we have described, assigning to it the same boundaries. The midland which runs eastward of the Ucayali, to the river Mamore, is the territory on which the ancients placed the empire of Enim, or Gran Paru. That which extends from the river Madera, constitutes a part of Gran Paytiti.

degrees of longitude, fixing the first meridian at the Peak of Teneriffe. These dimensions being calculated, the result is a superficies of about eight thousand square leagues, a space capable of containing, without inconvenience, a population of about five millions of persons, by whom a most flourishing trade and intercourse might be carried on.

Its fecundity is equal to the prerogatives of its advantageous position. The eastern branch of the Cordillera of the Andes, which, running between the Huallaga and the Mayro, unites this peninsula with Peru, and the different mountains which, originating at the Cordillera, descend at various distances into the plain, abound in that rich metal which ennobles man, which constitutes his fortune, and which even acquires him, without effort, the sublime titles of wise, discreet, and the rest of those eminent qualities that are wont to shine with diminished lustre when viewed from beneath the humble garments of the poor. Washed down by the rains, this noble metal shines amid the sands of the rivers, combined with the hard flint which conceals the diamond, and with the precious shell in which the pearl is stored. The multitude and variety of the fishes which play on the surface of the waters, are not inferior to those of the beautiful and melodious warblers by which the air is peopled, and to the diversity of the quadrupeds which browse on the plains. It would be fortunate if the insects and reptiles were less numerous*. If it be certain that there exists on the earth an irrational creature on whose forehead shines the star of the morning†, this favoured territory is without doubt the
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* The gold found in the Pampa del Sacramento is of the finest quality; and that which was discovered by father Xara, in a broken ground below the stream named Huamancot, proved to be superior to any in South America.—The pearls which are fished at the confluence of the river Mayobamba are very large.—Among the fishes, the most remarkable is the sea cow, which commonly weighs about ten quintals.—In the class of *amphibia* may be cited the tortoise: several of these animals have been met with more particularly on the banks of the Ucayali (where the females lay and deposit each of them about two hundred eggs), which measured two yards in length and one in breadth.—Among the reptiles, the most formidable is the snake *yacumama*; to which may be added several others, of an analogous nature, stiled *sazadoras*, in consequence of the various stratagems they employ when they surprize and attack men and animals.—It has been asserted, that Nature having exhausted all the energy of her divine pencil in colouring the plumage of the birds of our mountains, had denied them the harmony and melodiousness of voice which distinguish those of other climes. This is not correct. There may be some among them, as is the case every where, which stun and weary by their wild and uncouth notes; but there are many others which, from the morning's dawn to the close of day, stay the progress of the traveller by their delightful warblings.

† In all the districts to which a reference has been made, and more particularly in Lamas, it is reported that there have been seen, on the mountains and banks of the Huallaga, small dogs of a particu-

one which gave it birth. The vegetable kingdom, vying with the others, displays its fertility in the formation of vast forests abounding in majestic trees of the finest foliage, in odoriferous flowers, in the richest fruits, and in those healing gums and balsams which, constantly distilling, exhale their ambrosial streams, and fill the air with fragrance. The spaces that are not occupied by the forests, are inhabited by the savage tribes of the Sipibos, Setebos, Panos, and Cocamas, who there enjoy the blessings which Nature has so amply provided for them.

This highly favoured portion of South America, would, in the event of Manoa being restored, and the Port del Mayro re-constructed and fortified, be in a manner surrounded by the Spanish possessions; at the same time that, every part of the banks of the Huallaga and Maranon being peopled by the missions of Caxamarquilla, Lamas, and Maynas, Manoa and the above-mentioned port would afford security to those of Mayro and Ucayali. By these means, also, the entrance into the immense territories of Enim and Paytiti would be facilitated. To ascertain the practicability of a project so useful to religion, to the monarch, and to Peru, it was indispensably necessary to follow the course of all the rivers by which the Pampa del Sacramento is intersected; to observe the difficulties which impede their navigation; to calculate the time it would require; and to remove the obstacles which the mountains present, in the tracks leading to the ports of embarkation. It was by such a plan alone that a knowledge could be obtained of the mode to be pursued, both to defend Manoa from the fierce and wanton attacks of the barbarians, and to open a ready communication with the capital of the viceroyalty, which necessarily becomes the centre of the springs that give an impulsion to, and sustain all similar enterprises.

To this great aim the peregrination which was undertaken in the middle of the last year, 1790, by the apostolical father, friar Manuel Sobreviela, guardian of the college of St. Anne of Ocopa, was directed. Being desirous to throw every possible light on a point of history and geography, little, if at all known, we brought forward the history of the missions of Caxamarquilla, to the end that, by presenting the facts from their origin, this interesting subject might be better understood. With the same design, we had some thoughts of prefacing this relation by a concise description of the Huallaga, freed from the errors which are to be found in all the maps that have been delineated, more especially as it was not in our power to pub-

lar species, which illumine the country on the darkest nights, but which are so shy that they conceal the light on the least noise.

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lish the one we had projected, through the want of sufficient funds in the hands of the society ; but the complaints we uttered on this head, having made all the impression we could have wished on the sensibility of several generous individuals who have supplied us with the means of realizing our ideas, the topographical chart which we shall very soon publish, exonerates us from this task*. We shall therefore simply point out the limits of the Huallaga, so as to enable the reader to follow with precision the thread of the narration of father Sobreviela.

The river Huallaga issues, with the name of Huanuco, in 10 degrees 57 minutes south latitude, from lake Chiquiacoba in the plains of Bombon, whence it flows precipitately, directing its impetuous course to the north, and receiving all the rivers noted in the geographical chart, as far as the city of Leon de Huanuco, in 10 degrees 3 minutes south latitude. In this part it makes an inflection to the east ; and, passing southward of the above-mentioned city, preserves the same direction until it reaches the town of Muna, at the entrance of the mountainous territory, situated in 9 degrees 55 minutes. It now shifts its course, and runs impetuously to the north, between two high and rugged mountains, by which it is supplied with water sufficient to render it navigable. By the interposition, however, of dreadful precipices, and dangerous banks of sand, the navigation is impeded until it reaches 9 degrees 22 minutes, at the confluence of the river Monzon, which falls into it at the western bank. It now becomes more tranquil in its course, and, forming a variety of islets, widens or narrows in proportion as the branches which descend from the Cordillera, and which, describing semi-circles, insensibly lose their altitude, approach or retreat from its banks. It is now augmented in every direction by new rivers, receiving among others, to the east, the river of the Moon, in the altitude of 7 degrees 40 minutes south latitude. Continuing its rapid course to the north, it takes a bend at the town del Valle, in 7 degrees 50 minutes, and, forming two difficult passes named Sabaloyaco and Cachahuanusca, immediately before its confluence with the Huayabamba, it passes along the confines of the province of Lamas, where it changes its name of Huanuco to that of Huallaga. The river of Huayabamba flows into it at the left bank, in 7 degrees 33 minutes, with a breadth of half a mile and a fathom of depth ; and in 7 degrees 10 minutes it receives, on the same side, the river Moyobamba, which supplies it with an equal quantity of water.

* To the great regret of the Editor, the topographical chart to which an allusion is here made, did not accompany the set of Peruvian Mercuries which fell into his hands.

From the confluence of the river Moyobamba to the point by which the mountainous territory is terminated, the Huallaga throws off four branches, which form as many different passes, named Estera, Canoayaco, Chumia, and Yuracyaco. At the point where it disembogues itself, it flows gently, taking a declination to the north, through an immense and fertile territory, which it overflows to the extent of three or four miles in breadth. Pursuing its course by the province of los Maynas, in 5 degrees 4 minutes south latitude, it falls in with the Marañon*, by which, divided into two branches, it is received. At the junction a gulf is formed half a league in breadth, and 28 fathoms in depth. The diagonal line which results from the confluence of the two rivers, follows a space of about a league without either of them having a preponderance over the other. At length the direction of the Marañon overcomes that of the Huallaga.

Father Manuel Sobreviela, with a view to explore the navigation of the latter of these two rivers, sailed from the college of Ocopa on the 1st of July 1790, and, proceeding by Tarma and Pasco, reached, on the 7th, the pleasant city of Leon de Huanuco, distant from the above college fifty-six leagues. From Huanuco it was his intention to direct his steps to the new town of Playa-Grande, situated on the banks of the river Patayrrondos, where it is customary to embark in descending that river as far as its confluence with the Monson, distant half a league. Having embarked on the latter river, he was to proceed to the Huallaga, distant four leagues from the above-mentioned confluence. The passage overland, however, from the city of Huanuco to Playa-Grande, a distance of thirty leagues, being rendered in a manner impracticable by the difficulties which a rugged mountain opposed, it became necessary to remove these obstacles before the expedition could proceed. In the year 1787 the reverend father had begun to open a road which might facilitate the passage by mules over this mountain. To complete this undertaking, he sent notice to the governor of Panataguas, and to the sub-delegate of the province, that, in virtue of the directions of the intendant of Tarma, Don Juan Maria de Galves, they were to furnish, without delay, the succours and people

* In this part, as well as nearly throughout its whole extent, the Huallaga was found to have a breadth of 180 fathoms, and a depth of 28. It was measured with great exactitude by father Sobreviela, aided by the lieutenant-governor of Maynas, Don Juan Salinas, a man of conspicuous talents, who was very solicitous to promote, by his personal exertions, the success of the peregrinations we are now describing. The breadth of this river was computed by M. Condamine at 250 toises, at the same season of the year; but as his measurement was made by the eye, that of father Sobreviela and Don Juan Salinas ought certainly to be preferred.

necessary to this enterprise. In the mean time, he himself set out for Panao, a town distant ten leagues east from the city of Huanuco, to fulfil a commission which the viceroy had entrusted to his zeal and activity, namely, to contract with the inhabitants of that place for the opening of a commodious road, sixteen leagues in length, from Pozuzu to Port del Mayro; and for the throwing of a bridge across the river Pozuzu; undertakings which were indispensably necessary to the fortifying of the above port. This they engaged to do in the space of three years, for the small expence of four thousand piastres. Father Sobreviela now returned to Huanuco, whence he proceeded on the 14th, provided with all the necessary implements for the opening of a passage to Playa-Grande, and accompanied by a hundred and fourteen Indians belonging to the frontier. By the indefatigable exertions of these Indians, in levelling the precipices, draining the morasses, and cutting through the mountains, a commodious and spacious road was made; and on the 18th, the company reached the town of Playa-Grande*.

It being father Sobreviela's intention to regulate the internal affairs of the converted tribes subjected to his jurisdiction, at the same time that he should labour fervently to convert those who were still in a barbarous state, his first care, on his arrival at Playa-Grande, was to visit the temple, to assemble the inhabitants, to examine the progress they had made in their religious exercises, and to exhort them to a strict observance of the holy writ, and to fidelity to their sovereign. Being sensible of how much importance it was that the vassals subject to one prince should all of them explain themselves in the same language, seeing that thus they would be cemented by a soft bond of fellowship, and, although belonging to several tribes, would form but one distinct nation, he expatiated with them on the conveniences and benefits which would result from their acquiring a proficiency in the Castillian tongue. He also pointed out to them the means which would best conduce to agricultural improvements, as it related to their own natural productions, and to the new seeds which he distributed among them. Having fulfilled the duties and obligations of pastor, he now gave them fresh proofs of his paternal

* In accomplishing this undertaking, and making the necessary observations for the direction of the labourers, the reverend father had to be conveyed from spot to spot in a hammock. This mode of travelling, which, in the language of the inhabitants of the mountainous territory, is styled *caminar en buando*, is somewhat hazardous. In passing through the thick forests, for instance, the traveller who from necessity adopts this conveyance, incurs the risk of having his head broken by its encounter with a tree, in the course of the rude shocks to which he is momentarily subjected; or, which is still worse, of having his eye perforated by a thorn.

care, by distributing toys among the women, and agricultural implements among the men. The latter were most acceptable presents to Indians, whose sole felicity consisted in possessing a bit of iron, by the help of which they might break up the ground that served to clad and nourish them.

On the 2d of August, father Sobreviela caused three canoes to be got ready by the Indians of Playa-Grande, and embarked at eight in the morning, accompanied by father Joseph Lopez, secretary of visitation, on the river Patayrrondos. At noon they reached the river Monzon, and at half past nine in the evening the Huallaga, following the course of this navigation to the confluence of the river Tulumayo, which flows into it at the right bank. The progress made this day was eight leagues, which were accomplished in six hours, the rest of the time being taken up by the necessary stops, and the difficulties encountered in the navigation. On the 3d, at day break, the Indians betook themselves to their oars; and on the evening of the 5th the company reached an inlet, on the left bank of which, at a place named la Cruz, they passed the night. Deducting the time spent in repasts, &c. a distance of twenty leagues was performed in eight hours*. On the 4th the canoes were put afloat at the same hour as on the preceding day, and, with their accustomed velocity, reached on the 5th in the evening the port of Pampa-hermosa, at two leagues distance from which, by a pleasant and spacious road, is an Indian town containing a population of 270 souls. Here father Sobreviela employed himself until the 8th in the same way as at Playa-Grande; and also in contriving to bring the population nearer to the banks of the Huallaga, and in making other small settlements at the confluence of the river Uchisa, to the end that, throughout the whole of the course of the Huallaga, navigators might at all times find habitations in which to repose.

On the 9th, instead of the canoes of Playa-Grande, others were provided at Pampa-hermosa, and the company setting out at nine in the morning, reached at four in the afternoon the port of Sion, having performed a distance of fifteen leagues. The 10th and 11th were employed by father Sobreviela in his customary visits, and in numbering the inhabitants of Sion, whose population was found to amount to 205 souls. On the 12th the Indians of Sion, belonging to the tribe of

* According to this computation, the navigation performed was between two and three leagues an hour; a remarkable celerity, when it is considered that Monsieur Condamine did not make a greater progress in his rapid passage through the strait of Manseriche, notwithstanding he navigated on rafts, which, presenting a smaller superficies to the resistance of the water than canoes, partake less of the impulse and velocity of the currents.

Hibitos, supplied four canoes, which set out at noon, and at half past one reached the port and town of del Valle, containing a population of 372 souls, whence our travellers proceeded to within a small distance of the great shoals of Sabaloyaco, to steer clear of the perils of which it was necessary to discharge the canoes, and to drag them overland, by the eastern bank, a distance of about half a mile. This task was performed in an hour; when the canoes again setting out, approached Cachiluanusca at four in the afternoon. To avoid this difficult pass it was necessary to direct the canoes by the right bank, or, for still greater security, to drag them along it with cords, but without discharging them. This was safely accomplished on the 13th at six in the morning, when the canoes proceeded to the mouth of the Huayabamba, and thence to the port of Pachisa, where there is a small Indian town, the inhabitants of which, one hundred in number, were brought from Pagaten, and settled at the confluence of the Huayabamba with the Huallaga, in consequence of that place being at too great a distance to be useful to navigators. At eight in the morning of the 14th the voyage was prosecuted with three canoes belonging to Pachisa, and two from Tarapoto and Cumbasa, which had been expressly stationed at Pachisa by the Lamas missionaries. After a navigation of twelve leagues, the party reached Pilloana, a hill which runs north and south on the eastern bank of the Huallaga, and which is covered to the extent of a mile with salt springs of an excellent quality. Here our travellers spent the night; and on the 15th, at eight in the morning, again set forward. At eleven o'clock they reached the confluence of the Moyobamba with the Huallaga; and, following the rapid course of the former of these two rivers, to the west, and afterwards to the south, arrived at two in the afternoon at the port of Juan de Guerra, situated on the right bank. From the port of Juan de Guerra to the towns of Tarapoto and Cumbasa, the distance does not exceed four leagues by land, over a very fertile plain. These towns are separated by a small river, and contain conjointly a population of upwards of sixteen hundred souls, Spaniards, Mes-tizos, and Indians, all of them very robust and laborious. Their principal employment consists in the weaving of cotton stuffs of different qualities*. In the vicinity of

* While the men are employed within doors at the looms, the women are stationed from distance to distance in the streets, at the spinning machines, which are of a particular construction, and afford ample supplies of the spun material to the manufactories. At the extremities of the axis of the second wheel, to which a cylinder is occasionally substituted, to simplify the machine, several small hooks are fastened, to lay hold of the cotton; and in proportion as the wheel is turned by a little boy, and the cylinder

of Tarapoto and Cumbasa are stationed four companies of militia, to guard the frontiers, and prevent the irruptions of the surrounding barbarous tribes.

Father Sobreviela was employed until the 18th in regulating the affairs of the above-mentioned towns, which had hitherto been but little subjected to his jurisdiction*, and in projecting an Indian settlement in the vicinity of the Huallaga, to spare navigators the three leagues from its banks to the port of Juan de Guerra. On that day he was joined by father Girbal, rector of Cumbasa, who, stimulated by his apostolical zeal, and by the persuasions of the licentiate Don Pedro Valverde, superior of the Maynas missions, was desirous to penetrate to Manoa. At one o'clock they embarked at the port of Juan de Guerra; and at half past two reached the Huallaga, encountering shortly after the dangerous pass of Estera. Here it was necessary to drag the canoes with ropes along the western bank. In the vicinity of this pass our travellers spent the night. On the 19th they set out at break of day, and by four in the morning came to another dangerous pass named Chumia, where they were obliged to have recourse to the same expedient as on the other occasion, dragging the canoes along the right bank. A few hours after, they reached Yuracyacu, at which place they had to perform a similar manœuvre at the left bank; and at half past two in the afternoon came to the *Salto (flight) de Aguirre*, navigating to the right†. Here the hills on each side unite, and narrowing the bed of the river, form by their junction the small strait at which they finally terminate.

Puneu,

cylinder by the woman, six or eight threads are twisted at a single turn, and are gradually drawn out to a considerable length. In this manner a woman spins more in one hour, than another with her distaff in twenty-four.

* The Lamas missions belonged originally to the Franciscan monks, by whom they were afterwards assigned to the Jesuits, who maintained them until they were expatriated. In their stead the Franciscans were again entrusted with this charge, of which they were shortly after deprived, and the missions bestowed on the secular clergy. Lamas, Tarapoto, and Cumbasa, being now under the spiritual charge of a single rector, who resided at the former of these places, and the inhabitants of the latter perceiving that they could not receive the attendance which they desired, an application was made to the viceroy, to place them under the spiritual direction of the priests of Ocopa. This was done in the year 1789, when Tarapoto and Cumbasa were separated from the jurisdiction of the rectory of the city of Lamas. In the year 1790 the above-mentioned companies were established by command of the viceroy.

† According to the traditions of the Lamas Indians, this pass was denominated Salto de Aguirre, in consequence of a person named Aguirre having there killed a terrible bird, which, issuing from the caverns of the adjacent hills, raised the passengers into the air in his talons, and dashed them to pieces against the surrounding rocks. This relation is worthy of a place among the flying dragons and other

Puneu, in the Quechua tongue, signifies a port; and this name has been given to all the places where the hills, narrowing the beds of the rivers, terminate. Indeed these straits or narrow passages represent a port, which permits the waters to overflow the plains, and which at the same time opens a passage from one world to another altogether different. Scarcely has the traveller passed the small strait of the Huallaga, when the objects and the ideas undergo an entire change. The eyes accustomed in Peru to observe the superb and lofty mountains whose summits hide themselves in the clouds;—which survey from an eminence the deep valley situated as it were in the centre of the abyss; and which cannot turn themselves without encountering a massy hill, or a thousand other irregularities of the earth, by which their view is bounded and circumscribed; are here engaged in the contemplation of objects entirely different. Those we have enumerated above disappear by degrees, and are at length so completely annihilated, that not a small stone can be met with to bring to the recollection of the traveller the infinite masses which compose the Cordillera of the Andes*. Immense plains covered by trees, which present no other limit to the view than the sky bounded by the horizon at the distance of some thousands of leagues, contain lakes and seas of fresh water, the islands, roads, and ports of which are inhabited by nations whose customs, usages, and manner of thinking are totally different from ours.

The Huallaga is one of the rivers which furnish the greatest quantities of water to these bays and lakes. As soon as it frees itself from the shackles which the mountains had interposed, it diffuses itself, dilates, and flows with so even a course, that the navigation is not interrupted either by day or by night. Its banks, covered by the loftiest palms, and by rows of trees, planted at regular distances, amid the

prodigies described by father Kircher in his subterraneous world. It appears to be allegorical of an event which the Indians preserve in their traditions. These traditions relate, that a tribe in the vicinity of Lamas, named Saposon, being subjected to a cruel and tyrannical chief, the inhabitants, at the instigation of Aguirre, put him to death. To punish this murder troops were sent from Lima, and at their hands Aguirre perished. It may not be amiss to illustrate this tradition, by comparing it with an historical fact. In the year 1560 Don Pedro de Ursoa was sent from Lima, to descend by the Huallaga in quest of the fabulous empire of Dorado. He was slain in the Lamas territory by Lope de Aguirre, who made his escape to the island of Trinidad, where he afterwards paid with his life the forfeit due to this crime.

* Four hundred leagues below the straits the inhabitants have no idea of stones. When their navigators arrive at Borja or at Lamas, where they first meet with them, they are filled with admiration, collecting and preserving them as if they were diamonds; until at length, seeing the multitude of them, they become indignant and ashamed of having prized what is so very common.

thick

thick foliage of which the nightingale and starling build their nests, furnish the most agreeable promenades that can be imagined. The beauty of the prospect is augmented by a great multitude of canoes from the provinces of los Maynas, some of which ascend the river with cargoes of salt fish for the consumption of Lamas, while others are stationed at the banks to take in their lading of cacao, which is produced here in great abundance, and to receive the wax fabricated by small bees. These insects pierce the bark of a species of tree, the hollow trunk of which presents to them a convenient shelter for their hives*. The women who aid their fathers and husbands in collecting these productions on shore, have no other garment than a slight covering about the middle; and, as their hair flows loosely in the wind, resemble so many naiades or dryads. It is to be lamented, that in these delightful plains travellers should be molested by such a multitude of mosquitoes and gnats, that even the Indians are obliged to provide themselves with small awnings, suspended from the *pamacaris*†, to defend themselves from their bites. They are also prevented from bathing in the morning through the dread of the Caymans, a species of crocodiles, which, after the small strait has been passed, are very numerous.

Father Sobreviela made good his passage, without accident, at half past two in the afternoon; and at six in the evening the canoes approached the left bank opposite the confluence of the river Chipurana, in 6 degrees 33 minutes. The Chipurana enters the Huallaga at the side of the Pampa del Sacramento: the passage therefore from the Huallaga to the Ucayali may be accelerated by the navigation of that river. On the 20th, at seven in the morning, our travellers set out, and did not disembark until six in the evening. This day nothing important occurred. On the 21st at day break they again proceeded, and at noon reached the town of Yurimahuas, the first which occurs in the province of los Maynas. Here the company enjoyed the diverting spectacle of the catching of a tiger. To guard against the ferocious attacks of this animal, and to destroy him, the Indians have recourse to a snare, which consists of a narrow passage formed by stakes of a competent thickness, and six feet in length, well

* Both the trunks and branches of the above trees are hollow. When the Indians perceive a number of these little bees swarming about one of them, they decorticate and split the tree at the middle, scraping off the wax attached to the sides of the hive. In South America there is as great a variety of bees as in Europe; but all of them smaller, and without a sting.

† This is a covering of palm leaves, in the form of an arch, placed in the middle of the canoe to keep off the sun and the rain.

fastened

fastened together and fixed in the earth. The top, and one of the entrances, are secured by other stakes of the same description : in the middle of the passage there is a division. At the entrance which is left open, a stout plank, supported by a cord which is slightly secured in the front of the passage, is suspended. When the howlings of a tiger are heard, a dog is shut up in the inner division, who, finding himself in confinement, begins to howl. The tiger instantly darts forward, thinking himself secure of his prey, and being unable to find any other passage than the one where the plank is suspended, enters that way. Now entangling himself in the cord, he springs, throws down the plank, and finds himself hemmed in without being able to hurt the dog, who is protected by the division of boards. After having amused themselves until the animal becomes furious, the Indians put him to death with their clubs and arrows.

From Yurimahuas to the town of Laguna, the capital of Maynas, the distance is forty leagues. On the 22d, at day-break, father Sobreviela set out for that place with boatmen belonging to the town of Yurimahuas ; and as these Indians are very expert in the above navigation, the canoes proceeded night and day without any other interruption than the necessary stops, insomuch, that on the following morning, at half past ten, they reached the port of the town of Laguna. The rains, which had fallen during several preceding days, had formed a variety of large pools of water which prevented them from landing. They were therefore obliged to direct their course to the lake of Gran Cocama, which flows, by the eastern bank, into the Huallaga, in 5 degrees 14 minutes south latitude, by a canal so extremely narrow as to admit the entrance of one canoe only, and a mile and a half in length. The lake is a league and an half in circumference ; and is surrounded by a dry and elevated ground, a description of territory very rarely to be met with in these latitudes, on the summit of which the town of Gran Cocama is situated. Father Sobreviela arrived there at half past twelve o'clock, and was received by the president of the missions, as well as by the lieutenant-governor, with every token of hospitality, and with the admiration due to a traveller who had, in so short a space of time, penetrated by roads heretofore deemed impassable, into new regions, where he met with friends and fellow-labourers equally interested with himself in the glory of his nation.

The Maynas missions, which were at the commencement very numerous and flourishing, are due to the apostolical zeal of the ancient Jesuits. On their expulsion, the spiritual government of the converted tribes was confided to various religious orders, and at length to that of the secular clergy. The population of the twenty-two Indian towns which are at this time established on the banks of the
Huallaga,

Huallaga, Pastasa, Sillay, Caguapana, and Maranon, amounts to 8895 souls, under the spiritual guidance of a superior of the missions, and of nineteen rectors, who, as very small pensions are allotted to them by the government, and as they do not receive any tribute, have the advantage of the personal services of a certain number of Indians, by whom they are abundantly supplied with fish and game, and who cultivate for their use rice, sugar-canes, &c.

The temporal affairs of these tribes are entrusted to a military governor who resides at Omaguas, and whose place, in the more considerable towns, is supplied by a lieutenant-governor, and, in the smaller ones, by a casique, or Indian prince, the head of the tribe. Under these are several inferior magistrates; and it is pleasing to see a number of youths, aged from ten to twelve years, invested with the magisterial dignity, who watch over the others of the same age; correcting them for their slight excesses and misdemeanours, and giving an immediate account of the more serious ones to the resident chief magistrate. This policy, which the Jesuits introduced among these barbarous tribes, is worthy of imitation, since it tends to prevent those puerile negligences and imprudences, which might, in a maturer age, lead to the commission of crimes; at the same time that it inspires the children, from their tender years upwards, with an emulation to attain, by their good conduct, the sacred ministry of the judicature.

The Maynas towns maintain a commercial intercourse with each other, and with those of Quito and Lamas, in salt fish, cacao, the arroba of which (25 pounds) is sold at the low price of two reals; bees-wax, which is frequently found to be of as good a quality as that of the north; yuca, or casava meal, freed from its poisonous juice; and vegetable bougies*. They have also a few inconsiderable manufactures, and distinguish themselves in the fabrication of very beautiful coverlids and hats made of feathers, which they artfully dispose according to the diversity of their tints, imitating with the utmost nicety the coloured drawings placed before them. The customs of the inhabitants of Maynas are similar to those of the more remote tribes of the Pampa del Sacramento, with the exception of certain acquirements which are due to their shepherds.

Father Sobreviela remained in the town of la Laguna until the 26th, to take the necessary steps to hasten the departure of father Girbal, on his projected peregrination by the Ucayali; a track which, having been closed for many years, had just

* The naturalists here name *pastas* the fruit of a tree, which, on being lighted, contains within itself both the wax and the wick. We have not as yet been able to ascertain whether it is a species of the wax-tree which is met with in Louisiana and in China.

been partly explored by the licentiate Don Pedro Valverde, president of the Maynas missions*. A wish to tranquillize his flock, and to recover a few strayed sheep, had impelled him to engage valorously in an enterprise which did not present any idea to the imagination, beside that of the risk of becoming the victim of the barbarity of the ferocious Panos. Having ascended as high as Sarayacu, experience demonstrated to him the extent of what can be effected by a truly apostolical spirit. The savages humbled themselves in his presence; and, being desirous not to quit their ancient abodes, beseeched him to supply them with some one who should instruct them in their religious duties; thus expiating the death of the Franciscan monks, the particulars of which were given in the historical details relative to the missions of Caxamarquilla.

To gratify the wishes of the Panos Indians, the virtuous guardian of Ocopa stimulated father Girbal to set out with all promptitude, promising him his most cordial co-operation. His deeds proved the sincerity of his words, since, in concert with the generous Don Juan de Salinas, he afforded to the latter all the succour he could possibly administer. Having supplied him with agricultural implements, and whatever beside was necessary to distribute among the Indians, father Sobreviela took leave of his kind hosts, and on the above-mentioned 26th of August, at ten at night, set out on his return. In ascending the Huallaga, the canoes navigated at the rate of three-fourths of a league an hour. The voyage was in every part prosperous, and was concluded on the 27th of September, at the confluence of the river Monzon, and town of Playa-Grande, the port of embarkation. From Playa-Grande he travelled, by the broken ground of Monzon, to Chicoplaya, to execute an order of the supreme governor; and taking the new road constructed by Don Juan Bezares†, entered Chavin de Pariaca on the 9th of October. Thence directing his course to Tarma, he passed, on the 13th, the source of the Marañon, which is the lake Yauricocha, situated in the plains of Bombon, in 10 degrees 14 minutes: its length is about a league, and its breadth the one half. The Marañon, or Tunguragua‡, where it originates, has an extension of twenty-five yards, with a proportionate depth, at the seasons when the waters diminish.

* In the prefatory matter, we mentioned that father Richter, a Jesuit belonging to the Maynas conversions, had ascended by the Ucayali. Not any one would undertake this afterwards, until it was attempted by the above-mentioned president, whose MS. relation is lodged in the archives of our Society.

† See p. 344, under the head of Topography.—An itinerary from Chavin de Pariaca to Chicoplaya, will be given in the sequel.

‡ Those who will not allow that the river here cited is the real trunk of the Marañon, bestow on it the latter name.

At the mouth of the lake are to be seen several stone pyramids extremely well wrought, a yard and a half square. They are stationed, at the distance of a yard from each other, from one of the banks to the opposite one. They must be fragments of some bridge raised in ancient times for the passage of the Ynca; since, at an inconsiderable distance from them, runs the royal road, which has been the admiration of our historians. Several vestiges of that road, and even very extensive ones, still exist there, without time, the quadrupeds, or man, having been able to annihilate these memorials, which have perchance been preserved to belie the ancient and modern impostures of certain infatuated writers. Father Sobreviela reached Tarma on the 17th; and on the 23d, his peregrination having been prosperously concluded, arrived at the college of Ocopa.

The advantages by which it has been attended, and those that may be derived from it, are manifest. The passage from Huanuco to Playa-Grande has been expedited; the navigation of the Huallaga explored to the lake of Gran Cocama; the rocks and sand-banks noted, and the mode of steering clear of them pointed out; and, lastly, new establishments have been formed on the banks of the Huallaga, to the end that the traveller may be enabled to repose daily after his fatigues, and to find a supply of provisions. The communication between Lima and Maynas has consequently been already facilitated. A mutual commerce in the above-mentioned productions, such as coffee, cottons of various colours, almonds, cinnamon, reeds, frankincense, anil, &c. may be set on foot; and the balance will constantly be in favour of our conductors, as the traffic is carried on by barter, and the effects in those districts estimated at a very low rate. The prompt communication between Lima and Maynas, holds out another very great advantage, that of being able, in case of necessity, to forward a dispatch to Madrid in the short space of three months. This may be effected in the following manner: from Lima to Huanuco, a distance of sixty leagues, eight days; thence to Playa-Grande, the port of embarkation, distant thirty leagues, four days; thence to the river Moyobamba, distant a hundred and eleven leagues, seven days: from Moyobamba to Yurimaguas, a distance of sixty-three leagues, three days; from Yurimaguas to the lake is a distance of forty leagues, which may be navigated in a day and night; from the lake to Tefe, in the line which establishes the boundary between the Spanish and Portuguese possessions, navigating in canoes, with great celerity, night and day, eight days*; from Tefe to Gran Para, fifteen days.

* When the navigation is undertaken in large barks, laden with merchandizes, a still longer time is required.

Total, forty-six days. In the interval which remains to complete the three months, there is sufficient time to reach Spain by the Azores islands. Father Manuel Sobreviela, on the authority of the information communicated to him by Don M. Molina, a distinguished merchant, asserts, in a relation of the progress of the missions of Ocopa, printed at Lima in 1790, before he set out on his expedition, that the return to Lima may be performed in pretty nearly the same time. Experience has demonstrated, however, that at least double the time is required from Para; seeing that the navigation, in following the course of the waters, is at the rate of from two to three leagues per hour; while, in navigating against the stream, three quarters of a league only can be performed in the same space of time. But this observation merely applies to an inconsiderable part of the route.

The communication the above expedition opens with Manoa, the restoration of which was its principal object, will be elucidated at the close of the peregrination of father Narciso Girbal by the Ucayali, which now follows.

PEREGRINATION, BY THE RIVERS MARANON AND UCAYALI, TO THE TRIBES OF MANOA, UNDERTAKEN BY THE APOSTOLICAL FATHER, FRIAR NARCISO GIRBAL Y BARCELO, IN THE YEAR 1791.

WE now proceed to illustrate the fertile Plains of the Sacrament, by publishing the peregrination which was undertaken, by the Marañon and Ucayali, to the Manoa tribes, by father Narciso Girbal, rector of Cumbasa. It being a continuation of that of father Sobreviela, given above, we adopt the same method, commencing by a compendious description of the latter of these rivers. We pass over the former in silence, because we have nothing new to offer, in addition to what is contained in the travels and hydrographical charts in which it has been delineated by authors of high respectability*.

The history of the celebrated Ucayali has been disfigured by a thousand errors, which have originated, as well in the imperfect knowledge of the territories through which it flows, as in the partiality and interest of the missionaries by whom these regions have been frequented. Having been regarded, at the time of the conquest of Peru, as the real trunk of the Marañon, and being entitled to such a pre-eminence by the copiousness of its waters, by the number and magnitude of the rivers which pay it tribute, and by the remoteness of its sources, it was stripped of this prerogative, and received the name it still bears. The same causes have induced a doubt which is the principal of its branches; and on this head opinions have been divided between the Beni and the Apurimac†. The latter

* Fathers Manuel Rodriguez and Samuel Fritz, Condamine, Ulloa, &c.

† We think that we can terminate the geographical dispute on the following point, namely, which of the rivers that compose the Marañon is its real trunk? This prerogative we bestow on the Ucayali, for reasons which appear to us to be incontrovertible. First, because its sources are much more distant than those of the Tunguragua, or Marañon, of father Samuel Fritz. Secondly, because the Beni, Paucartambo, and Apurimac, are navigable in a latitude in which that river has not as yet originated. Thirdly, because the Ucayali does not yield in the quantity of its waters; but, on the contrary, presents itself, at the confluence, with a greater breadth, and with a superiority which obliges the Marañon to alter its course [Condamine, l. c. pap. 69]. Fourthly, because the ancient historians of the kingdom [Acosta—*Historia Naturalis*, p. 164; Garcilaso, t. i. p. 294; Calancha, p. 50; Montalvo—*Sol del Nuevo Mundo*, p. 7], have considered the Apurimac as the true Marañon. Fifthly, because, until the year 1687, the river which is now denominated Ucayali did not bear that name, but that of *Apo-paru*, that is, Gran-Paro, whence originated that of Gran-Para, which was equally bestowed on the Marañon, or river of the Amazons. In the above-mentioned year, a dispute arose between the Franciscans of Lima

latter having in its favour both history, tradition, and report, we cannot refuse our assent to its superiority over the Beni.

The Apurimac has its source in the wild heaths of Condoroma, in the province of Tinta, in 16 degrees of south latitude. It flows impetuously to the E. toward the Cordillera of Vilcanota, to the distance of three leagues, when, suddenly shifting its course to the W., it separates that Cordillera from the province of Chumbivilcas. It now enters the provinces of Aimaraes and Cotabambas, and directs its rapid course to the N. W., leaving to the E. the province of Cusco. In passing through that of Abancay, it declines to the N. E., by which direction it forms, from its primitive source, an arc that receives so many torrents on either side, as to prevent it from being longer fordable. Determining its career to the N., two leagues below the bridge of Apurimac, it forces its passage through the lofty territory of the Andes, running between mountains of incredible elevation, by which it is supplied with abundant waters. In 13 degrees 10 minutes, the river of Cocharcas, or Pampas, which descends from the heights of Huancavelica, flows into it to the W. The Apurimac continues its course, collecting the waters poured down from the mountains of Guanica; and, in 12 degrees 15 minutes, is joined to the E. by the river Quillambamba, Urubamba, or *Vilcamayo**, the primitive name of which is changed into that of Enec y Taraba. In 12 degrees 6 minutes, it is joined to the W. by the river of Jauxa, named by the Indians Mantaro†; when,

and the Jesuits of Quito, on the subject of the town and missions of San Miguel of the Conivos. Maps were demanded by the royal audience, to the end that a competent judgment might be formed of the litigated point. It was then that father Samuel Fritz drew up the one which was printed at Quito in 1707, and in which the Tunguragua is named Maranon, and the Paro, Ucayali, or Ucallali, a word which, signifying confluence, was applied by the inhabitants to that of the Paro and Tunguragua. Hence arose the error of father Fritz. By a discordance of a similar nature, father Acuna asserted, that the Napo was the Maranon. The degree of credit which the greater part of the Jesuits had justly acquired among the distinguished men of letters of those times [Sarmiento, *Demonstrat. t. i. § 439, 458, et seq.*], may account for the nomenclature of father Fritz having been generally and implicitly received.

* The Quillambamba originates in the heights of Vilcanota, in 15 degrees 25 minutes; and irrigating, with a copious stream of water, a portion of which it receives from several rivers, the delightful valley of Urubamba, as well as the eastern boundaries of Anaibamba and Vilcabamba, flows into the Apurimac.

† The Mantaro derives its source in the plains of Bombon, under the denomination of the river of Jauxa, from the lake Chinchaycocha, which is nine leagues in length, and two leagues and a half in breadth, in 11 degrees 3 minutes. It takes a southern direction, and receives, on the east and west, various torrents. After having crossed the valley of Jauxa, it winds to the east, receiving, among other rivers, at the distance of three leagues from the bridge of Iscuchaca, a powerful branch which descends from Huancavelica. In its effort to force a passage through the Cordillera of Guanica, it returns towards

its

when, taking a bend to the N. E., in 11 degrees 18 minutes, the Perene incorporates itself with its mass of waters. This latter river, originating within two leagues of Tarma, divides that city, and receives various streams from the Cordillera of Bombon, and from Pasco.

From the confluence of the Perene to that of the Pachitea, forty capacious rivers empty themselves into the Apurimac. Of the two which are of particular note, the one that flows into it on the eastern side, in 10 degrees 45 minutes, is the Paucartambo*; and the other, which disembogues three leagues below, with such an impetuosity as to propel it against the mountains, and to cause it to change its direction to the N. W., is unquestionably the Beni†. After this junction it acquires the

its origin, and forms the peninsula named Tallacaxa. Having resumed its eastern direction, it follows it to its mouth. Doctor Cosme Bueno is mistaken when he asserts, in the description of Jauxa, that this river, likewise named Pari, is the one which was anciently believed to be the origin of the Marañon. Herrera is guilty of a gross absurdity, in the passage of his *Decades* [t. iii. Decad. 5, l. 4. c. 10], in which he considers it as the source of the river of la Plata.

* Doubts have been entertained whether this river, at the confluence of which the Comavos and Ruanaguas are settled, is in reality the Paucartambo. Our opinion on this head is affirmative, because, according to the relations of the Franciscan missionaries, more especially that of the travels in those regions, undertaken, in the year 1686, by friar Manuel Biedma; and conformably to the information given by the Indians, the river to which a reference has been made, originates on the heights of Cusco, and enters with a quantity of water greater by the one half than that which the Apurimac contains. Now, throughout the whole extent of the mountainous territory of Cusco, there is not any river beside the Paucartambo, that manifests such qualities. In his introduction to the missions [p. 41], the learned father Rodriguez Tena hazards an opinion, that the Paucartambo is the celebrated Amarumayu, by which the Ynca Yupanqui [Garcilaso, t. i. l. 7, c. 13, 14, &c.] entered, in undertaking the conquest of the Moxos, which enterprise was afterwards meditated by Alvarez Maldonado; and that the Ynca could not have navigated to the Moxos by the Paucartambo, provided it disembogues in the Apurimac, and not in the Beni. To this we reply, that the Ynca navigated by the Paucartambo, until he reached the mountains of Chunchos, the population of which he, in the first instance, subjugated, and was afterwards enabled to pass to the Beni by some arm of communication, or, perhaps, by land; since this river, having its source in the Cordillera of Vilcanota, in the same parallel line as the Apurimac, and running, by the province of Paucartambo, to the west of that of Cusco, forms such an arc towards the east, that when it winds to the north, to enter the Apurimac, its position is so near to the site of the Beni, that at the confluences there is not a greater space than the one above pointed out.

† Among our geographers, some contend that the Beni forms, conjointly with the Itenes, the river of la Madera; while others are of opinion, that it descends to the Marañon, with the name of Yavari. We can trace the origin of these contrarieties. The most remote springs of the Beni lie to the east of the province of Sicasica, in about 19 degrees of latitude. It runs from S. to N. with some inflections, receiving various rivers from the mountainous territory it intersects. Among the most noticeable of these is the Coroyco, which, issuing from the province of la Paz, enters it to the west. Pursuing its course, in

13 degrees

the name of Apo-paru, or Gran-Paro; and continuing its impetuous course in the same direction as heretofore, in 8 degrees 26 minutes it is augmented by the waters of the Pachitea*, and receives the name of Ucayali. Taking a declination, in its progress, from the N. to the N. E., at the western bank, at which it receives the Pachitea, the following rivers pay it tribute: the Aguaitia, in 7 degrees 55 minutes; the Manoa, or Cuxhiabatay, in 7 degrees; the Sarayacu, in 6 degrees 45 minutes; and the Tapichi y Cano Pocati, which communicates with the Marañon in front of the town of San Regis, in 5 degrees. A bay which occupies an extent of territory of three leagues, having been formed, it divides into three branches; and finally falls in with the Marañon in 4 degrees 45 minutes, causing it to change its impetuous course, as a token of its own superiority.

Near to this celebrated confluence is situated the town of Omaguas, from which, to that of the lake, the navigation by the Marañon and Huallaga may be computed at about 70 leagues. Throughout the whole extent of this inland navigation, there do not exist any other towns, bordering on the above rivers, beside those of Urarinas and San Regis. Father Girbal having made the necessary arrangements for his peregrination, embarked on the 30th of August, four days after the return of father Sobreviela, on the lake of Gran Cocama, and reached Omaguas on the 6th of September following, having spent a day at Urarinas, and another at San Regis, and having been under the necessity of delaying his voyage for several hours, on account of the tempests which the winds are apt to excite on the waters of the Marañon. At the time when he associated himself, in his parochial dis-

13 degrees of latitude, it throws off a branch, in an eastern direction, which enters an extensive lake, named Roguaguado, having an extension of upwards of ten leagues E. W. and of five leagues N. S. From the eastern side of this lake rises an arm which runs to Marmore; and in a northern direction three others are thrown off. The one which has the greatest tendency to the west, is named Yata the first; the middle one, Tamayaquibo; and the eastern one, Yata the second. These branches following a north-east course, are without doubt the rivers Yutay, Tefe, and Coari, which, after the Ucayali, empty themselves into the Marañon [Condamine, l. c. p. 94]. The Beni, having supplied this arm, flows until it incorporates itself with the Apurimac, into which it enters with an aperture of half a league, and with the name of Paro. This communication has therefore produced the errors of our geographers relatively to the Beni, which is justly considered, by the above-mentioned father Rodriguez Tena, as the principal branch of all those that compose the Marañon.

* The Pachitea originates in 10 degrees 46 minutes, in the vicinity of the fort named Quiparacra. It runs to the east; and afterwards declines to the north, forming the river Pozuzu. It follows the latter direction for a certain space, and then recovers the former, which it preserves until it reaches the confluence and port of the Mayro. With this river, and with that of the Piechis, which flows into it below, it again winds to the north, and enters the Paro.

triect of Cumbasa, with father Sobreviela, ten of his Indian parishioners insisted on accompanying him, binding themselves by the most solemn promises to brave with him the utmost perils*. In despite, however, of this fidelity and attachment, father Girbal was aware, that to venture himself with them by the Ucayali, would be to expose himself to a manifest danger. They were already fatigued by the service they had performed ; the climate was not congenial to them ; and they had not the least knowledge of the new route that was to be followed. For these reasons he obliged them to return to their own country, thus depriving himself of the consolation of reckoning, in the prosecution of his labours, and until they should be brought to a conclusion, on a few faithful and compassionate friends. In their stead, fourteen stout Indians, belonging to the Omaguas tribe, all of them skilful navigators, were engaged ; and with these Indians, in two canoes, he ploughed the Marañon on the 12th, in quest of the mouth of the Ucayali. They did not reach it until the evening of the 13th ; and at that station they passed the night in the canoes.

The dawn of the morning of the 14th of September had begun to illumine the extensive and dreary forests through which flows the ancient and opulent Paro, when the sight of this immense solitude brought to the recollection of father Girbal the tragical scene of fourteen brethren put to death by the very barbarians in search of whom he had undertaken his peregrination. Oppressed by this melancholy idea, and by the reflection of the little fruit that had been derived from the spilling of so much innocent blood, he directed his clamours to Heaven from the inmost recesses of his heart, " not that he should be freed from the fatigues, hunger, thirst, and other sufferings which might supervene, and terminate in his death ; but that his soul might be penetrated by a ray of that divine light which was solely capable of exciting and kindling in his breast the charity necessary to instruct, reduce, and convert this portion of infidels, surrounded by the thick gloom of paganism." Relying on the protection of the Supreme Being, whom he implored with the humble and fervent supplications which have been cited, he began to struggle against the currents of the above-mentioned river. In proportion as he overcame them, and penetrated by its great windings, he admired the spacious banks, which

* The noble firmness of these Indians may be collected from their behaviour in the town of Gran Cocama. Being strongly impressed with a persuasion that they were about to perish by the hands of the savages, they prepared themselves for death with a truly christian resignation. Each of them made his will, and turned his face, in imploring forgiveness of his Maker, towards the horizon which bounded his native country, without displaying the least change of countenance.

afford indisputable proofs of the great quantity of water this river supplies, in inundating the plains of the Sacrament at the time of its increase. Among the multitude of fishes, amphibious creatures, and quadrupeds, which presented themselves to his view, the daring cayman, and the resolute and industrious tiger, equally claimed his attention. It is necessary to be constantly on the watch against the former of these animals, which darts on the canoes without dread or apprehension. The latter is the only one which dares to attack these ferocious *amphibia*, and which, imitating man in the fishing of turtles, makes his provision for several days*. Engaged on the one hand in the contemplation of the varied and admirable spectacle of nature; and molested on the other by the insects, the heat of the climate, and the humidity and exposure of the spots at which he passed his nights, father Girbal continued to advance until the 25th of September, without encountering, in any part of the Ucayali, within the current, the smallest rock or shoal to impede the navigation.

On the 26th, at break of day, the reverend father continued his peregrination, not a little surprized at the proximity of the savage tribes, whose traces were multiplied every moment. He fluctuated between fear and confidence, without being able to divine the result of the first encounter. With this he was soon made acquainted, since, at eight in the morning, he perceived a-head, a flotilla of nineteen canoes, which, by the aid of the oars and currents, descended with great velocity. The clamour made by the Indians, on descrying the two canoes which ascended, was distinctly to be heard. In similar encounters, the sound of the horn announces peace among these barbarians, by whom, if they are amicably disposed, it is returned. Father Girbal ordered his crews to sound theirs, which were instantly answered by the *bobotas*† of the strangers. A mutual confidence having been thus established, the canoes approached each other, and, the endearing title of friend having been interchanged, were brought to the nearest bank,

* The tigers lie in ambush for the caymans on the strands of the Ucayali, and whenever they are enabled to spring on them, bury their claws in the eyes, the hardness of the teguments not allowing them to accomplish this in any other part. The cayman, as soon as he feels that he is wounded, extricates himself from the tiger, and plunges into the water, where this valiant quadruped perishes, sooner than allow himself to be taken.—The Indians follow the example of other nations, in fishing for turtles, by laying them on the back, to prevent their escape: in this position they live for a space of from twenty to thirty days. Those who are engaged in this fishery, subsist on one of these animals for a considerable time, cutting it up peacemeal, in proportion to their wants.

† The bobotas are made of the thick canes which grow on the mountains, and have some resemblance to the flute. They give out a dull, but terrific sound.

where

where the parties landed, the savages surrounding father Girbal, and tendering to him their arms and their poor viands. Not satisfied with the information of the eyes, they touched with the hands every part of his face, more particularly the women, who formed a part of the group. An act of this nature appears to be a mechanical movement, inspired by admiration and delight. Our soul being moved by these two passions, in the presence of a rare, or wished for object, doubts the possession, fancying it an illusion of the eyes; and calls for the information of the touch, which, united to the former sense, constitutes the sure criterion that distinguishes real bodies from phantoms*.

The above assemblage was composed of Indians belonging to the tribe of *Covinos*, who, under command of their *Cacique*, were on their way to *Omaguas*, provided with bed coverings and resins, for the purpose of bartering them, if it should be possible, for working tools, of which they stand so much in need, that a hatchet generally costs them a canoe, in the construction of which they have toiled many days†.

Among their slaves they had several belonging to the *Mayoruna* nation, inhabiting the forests that border on the river *Tapichi*, at its remote sources. They are otherwise named *barbudos* (bearded), because they have bushy beards, similar to those of the *Spaniards*. They derive their descent from the soldiers who were dispersed in the above forests, at the time when their captain, *Pedro de Ursoa*, was assassinated by *Diego Lope de Aguirre*. The method to which they have recourse to rid themselves of their beards, is very singular, and cannot fail to be extremely painful: they take two shells, which they employ as if they were pincers; and passing them precipitately, drag out hair after hair, making such contortions and grimaces as provoke laughter, at the same time that they excite

* *A sensibus esse creatam*

Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli.

LUCR. LIB. IV.

† They are accustomed to spend a whole year in constructing one of from sixteen to twenty yards in length, and from a yard and a quarter to a yard and three quarters in breadth, all of one piece. They begin by felling a large tree with their stone hatchets; with which, and with fire, they deprive it of all its branches, and bring it to the dimensions they need. They then, by the means of a slow fire, form the cavity, scraping away the incinerated wood with flints. When, on the plane and sides, there remains a thickness equal to the breadth of three or four fingers only, they fill the concave trunk with water, applying dried palm leaves withoutside, and keeping up a slow fire. By this process the breadth of the concavity is dilated; and to prevent it from again closing, cross pieces of wood of a firm texture are placed from distance to distance. The poop forms a square; and the prow represents a pyramidal point.

compassion. It would appear that the ancient inhabitants of Peru had a similar custom, in divesting themselves of their slender beards; since in the museum of Lima there are several pairs of small silver pincers, which were found in their pagan temples, and which, according to the tradition of their descendants, were applied to the above purpose.

Father Girbal having partaken of the hospitalities of the Cacique, in company with several of the principal Conivos, and having made a few presents to his kind and liberal host, separated from him, full of satisfaction, to prosecute his voyage. On the 30th, a cordillera, which, running S.E. and N.W. resembled that which forms the small strait of the Huallaga, was descried to the west. Notwithstanding the intercourse of our traveller with the Conivos had contributed not a little to tranquillize him, and had induced him to change his opinion relatively to these barbarians, still, considering that they might be alarmed by his sudden arrival in their towns, he ordered a canoe to advance, for the purpose of announcing his arrival.

On the 2d of October, the Indians by whom this canoe was navigated, brought information, that, in communicating the instructions they had received, to two of the inhabitants of Sarayacu, the latter had inquired whether they came escorted by soldiers; and that, on their receiving a reply in the negative, they had promised to impart the intelligence to their tribe. While this was passing, a canoe was descried with two men, who, as soon as the tokens of friendship had been made, approached with demonstrations of joy. These testimonies were sufficient to fix the resolution of father Girbal, who, without farther hesitation, proceeded in quest of the town, instead of waiting the expected reply. Under the guidance of the strangers, the canoes entered a large canal to the westward, contending against its current; and at the distance of a league, fell in with several other canoes, which had on board their cargoes of provisions, and had come out purposely to receive them. After many manifestations of tenderness and sincerity, the voyage was prosecuted, the canoes keeping company with each other, and navigating the canal until they reached the lake, at the distance of two leagues, at which it originated. They landed on its bank, where this first and inconsiderable population of Sarayacu is established, the town being surrounded by thick plantations of wood, to the end that the inhabitants may be under cover, and on the watch, to defend themselves from the pirates of Paro, Ene, Perene, &c. who infest the Ucayali, and plunder the Indian settlements made on its banks.

The reception was accompanied by all the splendour the wretched Panos could display. Alternating their songs, which were accompanied by the pipe and tabor, by dancings and clamorous rejoicings, they surrounded father Girbal, and conducted

ducted him to house of the chief, where, far from meeting with the customary ornaments among these savages, the trophies of death, there was merely a kind of canopy, formed of the most valuable coverings, beneath which the new guest was seated. Prostrate at his feet, they surveyed him attentively, and exerted all their faculties to discover, by his demonstrations, and through the medium of the interpreter, the wishes of a man whom they regarded as an oracle sent from heaven.

Here our feelings are wrought to an extreme degree of compassion. How are the descriptions of the miserable Pano, in which he is represented as sanguinary and barbarous, to be reconciled with these traits of sincerity and humanity? And why, these Indians being the relatives and ancient allies of the Omaguas and Cocamas, converted to christianity;—why, being absolutely dependent on them for the implements of agriculture, without which they find it extremely difficult to subsist*;—why, we ask, now that so many years have elapsed since the Maynas nations were reduced, with so favourable a disposition on the part of the Panos, and with the advantageous means presented by the commerce† to which they are urged by their very mode of subsistence; far from having been united, so as to form a commonalty or republic, they have been driven, on the other hand, to the hard necessity of labouring under apprehensions for their personal safety, and regarding themselves as enemies? A simple shepherd who penetrated into the

* The whole of the mountainous territory is occupied by trees of an uncommon magnitude, which the Indians are under the necessity of felling, to be enabled to plant their productions. As their hatchets, whatever may be the industry they employ in sharpening them, do nothing more than mangle and lacerate the trunks, two lunar months are spent in felling a tree;—an operation which might be performed in the space of a few hours with a hatchet of iron. They have thus to undergo an infinite toil, in cultivating a small space of ground.

† “If, therefore we view, with the strictest impartiality, the fine countries in which the sciences and the arts flourish, and which were in remote times occupied by barbarism, we may demand of ourselves: how have these canals been opened?—How have these morasses been drained?—How have these cities been founded?—And the reply, to which every sensible man will give his assent, will be—*by the means of commerce.*” In reality, the enations by which others have been civilized, have been constantly commercial.”—*Hist. Politic. de los establec. ultram. t. i. p. 3.*

In the account of the peregrination of father Sobrevela, the president of the Maynas missions, Don Pedro Valverde, and the governor of the province, Don Francisco Requena, received the tribute of praise due to their laudable exertions on this head. We have now to add, that the former has broken down the barrier which separated the christian from the infidel, and forced them to remain friends; while the latter only waits the sanction of the supreme authority, to open and facilitate a commerce between the Indian nations reciprocally.

interior of the mountains of Caxamarquilla, was able to draw over all the Indians who were there dispersed, to religion, and to the state, by engaging them in a mutual and pacific commerce, which enabled them to comprehend the sanctity of the former, and to appreciate the advantages of an union with the latter; insomuch, that they have constantly remained faithful and attached, and have not suffered the smallest molestation, amid the struggles and contentions of the neighbouring tribes, on the mountain of salt, in the great Pajonal, &c.

We forbear to inquire into the causes of a phenomenon so different from those that have appeared to govern the world, and dispose of the fate of its inhabitants. The genius that presides over these causes, enlightened by the Divinity, is like a fire which, issuing from the pole, runs with a celerity that the sight cannot overtake, to station itself in the centre of the sphere; and illumines in an instant the atoms even which were concealed by the obscure veil of night. We, on the other hand, resemble, in our researches, the faint crepuscules that divide the empires of light and darkness: by the help of them we can scarcely record the greater bodies; and are compelled to recur to the help of the touch, not to be deceived. We will return to our history.

Father Girbal spent four days among the Panos dwelling at the side of the above-mentioned lake; and on the fifth, took the necessary measures to proceed in quest of those who inhabit the banks of the river Sarayacu. He descended the Ucayali by the canal through which he had passed on his entrance, the Indian boatmen having to overcome its current by their oars; and on the 6th of October, at four in the afternoon, disembogued by the Sarayacu, within the distance of a league from the port, which he shortly after reached. The inhabitants, through some mistake, not having been made acquainted with his intended visit, instantly took up arms; but as soon as they had ascertained that it was a pacific assemblage, commanded by a friar of the Order of St. Francis, they exchanged their implements of war for the green boughs of peace, and, surrounding our traveller with a thousand tokens of benevolence and affection, conducted him to the house of the chief. This chief was a female, distinguished from the rest, as well by her demeanour, as by the modest propriety of her dress, which resembled that of a nun. She proved to be the identical Anna Rosa of whom mention was made in the history of the missions of Caxamarquilla*, and who, having been brought to Lima in her infancy, by the reverend fathers, had spent several months in the monastery of Santa

Rosa of Viterbo. She still preserved a strong attachment to the christian religion, endeavouring to enforce the observance of its maxims as far as it was in her power. She lamented the tragical fate of the missionaries who had perished in the year 1767; and informed father Girbal, that the Chipeos had been the authors of these sacrilegious attempts, which, she assured him, had been avenged by the Indians belonging to her nation, who had, on that account, engaged them in a bloody conflict, which had terminated in their defeat. She likewise informed him that, on the entrance of friar Manuel Gil by the route of Pozuzu, her tribe went out to meet him, and delivered him from the hands of the barbarians, who had assumed a menacing aspect, and would not allow him to proceed on his way. She added, that friar Francisco de St Joseph* having been solicited by her nation to remain with them, and having promised them to return, they had, three successive summers, gone up to the confluence of the Pachitea and Ucayali, and had as often descended the Maranon, with the hope of being able to meet with him. The relations, deportment, and wishes of Anna Rosa, were a source of much consolation to father Girbal. To the end that he might take every advantage of so favourable a disposition, and considering that the descent from Lamas by the Huallaga and Maranon, and the ascent by the Ucayali, would lead him a considerable distance out of his direct route, he conceived the design of crossing the Plain of the Sacrament. He was more particularly urged to this attempt, because, according to the information given to him by the unconverted Indians in whose presence he was, and who made a voluntary offer to accompany him, he might find a passage out of the Huallaga in front of Cumbasa. This project, if carried into effect, presented a thousand advantages, not only by shortening the distance, but likewise because the Panos, on seeing the good government established at Tarapoto and Cumbasa, might conceive an affection for a civilized mode of life. With this intention he dismissed the Indians belonging to the Omaguas nation, solely retaining the little boy who acted as interpreter, and abandoned himself to the direction of the barbarians, confiding in the Divine Providence.

On the 11th, the above-mentioned enterprise of passing to Cumbasa, was commenced. Father Girbal was escorted by five canoes manned with Indians belonging to the tribes of Panos and Conivos, with whom he descended by the Sarayacu

* The above-mentioned friar escaped the Manoa massacres, in consequence of having set out a few days before they were committed, to render to his prelates an account of the progress of the missionaries. This providential escape enabled him afterwards to accompany father Gil on his expedition to the succour of Manoa.

to the Ucayali, in search of the river Manoa. After having entered the second of these rivers, and made a progress of a league and a half in its navigation, they touched at a town inhabited by the Conivos, where they were under the necessity of spending the night, in consequence of a furious hurricane having supervened. On the 12th, the canoes again proceeded on their route; and a little before sunset, brought to at the bank of the Ucayali, to the end that the party might pass the night in a country house in the vicinity, surrounded by several cultivated plots of ground. It belonged to one of the principal Panos, by whom father Girbal was accompanied. In the midst of the great apartment was an elevated seat, representing a throne, to which he was conducted with great ceremony, to repose after his fatigues.

On the 13th, the boatmen having had recourse to their oars, to be enabled to stem the current, the canoes reached an island inhabited by the Conivos; and, a little higher, were abreast of the ruins of a town which had been inhabited by the Indians of Sarayacu in the time of the missionaries. In the vicinity of these ruins the company passed the night, on account of the river having, in that part, considerably overflowed its banks, so as to render the navigation dangerous without the aid of the light. The voyage was prosecuted on the 14th, at a very early hour; and at nine in the morning, the canoes were off the mouth of the river Manoa, which, on account of the extreme rapidity of the stream, is named by the savages, *Cuxhiabatay*, or the waters of a strong current. After having endeavoured to stem it with the oars until four in the afternoon, the company landed on one of the banks. But little progress was made on the 15th, on account of the moroseness of the Indians. On the 16th, at noon, the party landed at the first town of the Manoitans Indians, the inhabitants of which displayed great hospitality in their reception of father Girbal and his companions. Having passed two hours with these Indians, our travellers again embarked in the canoes, to proceed to the second *rancheria*, or assemblage of Indian huts, at the distance of a league. They passed the night there; and were engaged during the whole of the 17th, in rowing in quest of the last of the Manoitans towns, at which they arrived on the morning of the 18th, their escort having been joined in the interim by two canoes with which they fell in on their route. The town in question had been the principal residence of the fathers belonging to the conversions. Its view revived, in father Girbal, the remembrance of their tragical end; and his grief was wrought to the highest pitch, when he saw, on the necks of several of the female Indians, necklaces formed of the fragments of the sacred vases. He could not find any vestige of the temple, the site formerly occupied by which was now converted into a plantation of maize.

Under

Under these distressing circumstances, he assumed an outward gaiety and content, while his heart was a prey to the most harassing reflections; and remained until the 20th, making every arrangement which prudence could suggest, to accomplish his project of effecting a passage to Cumbasa, with thirty uncivilized Indians, of either age and sex, who were desirous to accompany him.

By what grateful object was this retinue of Indians, dwelling on the banks of the Ucayali, impelled to plough the waters of the Huallaga? The utmost extent of their intelligence was bounded by their wishes, which were their sole guide, in engaging in this hazardous enterprise. Undertaking to force a passage across mountains covered with briars, to make good their way over the formidable crags and precipices which descend from the Cordillera, and to pass rivers not yet recorded, the waters of which had but just begun to flow, what had they to expect beside misery, hunger, and shipwreck? Father Girbal had to encounter the whole of this series of calamities, to the extreme degree of not having any other shelter than a piece of coarse cloth in which to wrap himself, or any other food than the wild fruits the forests presented to him. When, allowing himself to be swept along by the current of a river, he fancied that he was impelled towards the wished-for banks of the Huallaga, he unexpectedly encountered those of the Manoa. Such a disappointment would have entirely overpowered his wearied spirit, if it were not, that in great trials, there is a certain description of lenitive which enables us to shun despair.

Finding himself once more, on the 13th of November, in the midst of the Manoa tribes, father Girbal's sole intention was to return by the track he had originally followed. The rivers Cuxhiabatay and Ucayali had been considerably swollen by the rains. Having provided two canoes, he abandoned himself, on the 14th, to the impulsion of the one and the other; and on the 18th, reached the first town of Sarayacu, which he had fallen in with at the time of his ascent. He remained there until the 20th, when he again prosecuted his route; and on the 28th, at nine in the morning, reached the town of San Regis, belonging to the Maynas missions, having passed from the Ucayali to the Marañon by the channel named Pocati; insomuch, that in twelve days, deducting the two he had spent in the above town of Sarayacu, he descended from the first Manoa settlement to the Marañon; while, in the ascent, he employed nearly treble that time, in going over the same distance. The unconverted Indians who accompanied him, entertained certain apprehensions, which prevented them from descending as far as the Maynas tribes; and being desirous, on that account, not to proceed any further in the navigation of the Marañon, he dismissed them with many caresses, and with
a grateful

a grateful sense of the urbanity they had displayed, in escorting him as far as San Regis. The Indians attached to the Maynas missions, having, with great generosity, supplied him with the same number of canoes, and with whatever he might need in his ascent to Cumbasa, father Girbal proceeded on his voyage by the Marañon. On the 11th of December he reached the town of the lake of Gran Cocomá, and contending against the current of the Huallaga, entered, on the 29th, his *doctrina*, or spiritual jurisdiction, of Cumbasa, after an absence of upwards of four months. Thus terminated his long and painful peregrination.

It may be attended by great and manifest advantages both to religion and to the state. The idea of the ferociousness and barbarity of the uncivilized Indians inhabiting the Pampa del Sacramento has been done away; and the dread which prevented their reduction has vanished like a fanciful dream. They are heartily desirous to be instructed in the maxims of christianity;—maxims which, being directed to the welfare and felicity of man, penetrate without violence into his spirit, and obtain a complete mastery over his passions. Religion, in benefiting man, has an infinitely greater power to civilize him, to keep him in good order and subjection, and to sustain the august thrones of legitimate and benign potentates, than all the accumulated artifices which despots have invented to tyrannize over him.

The navigation of the Ucayali having been explored, it has been ascertained that it may be undertaken at any of the seasons of the year, without dread of encountering the impediment of rock or shoal; and experience has demonstrated the celerity with which the descent from Manoa to the Maynas settlements may be accomplished;—a circumstance which, in the first instance, presents a prompt refuge to the missionaries, in the case of sudden attacks. These favourable principles having been combined with others which prudence may dictate, may give rise to several flourishing missions, which may not be exposed to the disasters that attended the former. What alone is necessary, is to seize on the occasion as it presents itself. Supported by the protection and authority of our excellent governor*, father Manuel Sobreviola has already had recourse to the most effectual expedients. Father Narciso Girbal y Barcelo, who, at the commencement of the present year, 1791, reached Lima to render an account of his pere-

* Don Francisco Gil y Lemos, the then viceroy, a man of a most liberal and patriotic spirit. He was before at Santé Fe, as was likewise his secretary, Don Dionysio Franco, to whose patriotism and encouragement, the establishment of the Academical Society of Lima is, as well as that of the Peruvian Mercury, in a great measure to be ascribed.

grination,

grination, has returned, by his order, to the above-mentioned towns of Sarayacu and Manoa, with two other priests, and two lay brothers, one of them by profession a carpenter, and the other a blacksmith. These are to be joined by twenty inhabitants of Tarapoto and Cumbasa. It is his intention to establish, by the means of couriers, a correspondence which, by giving timely notice of all that may occur, may enable him to provide against and direct the consequences.

In the peregrination of father Sobreviela it was observed, that from Lima to the lake of Gran Cocama twenty-three days are employed ; between the lake and San Regis, or Omaguas, three are consumed ; thence the ascent by the Ucayali to Sarayacu requires eighteen days ; making in the whole forty-four. In returning, the descent from Sarayacu to Omaguas is performed in seven ; but from Omaguas to Lima, many days are necessarily occupied, because, according to the usual computation, the ascent of the rivers requires three days, to make the progress which is accomplished in one day in descending them. In proportion as the Ucayali shall be frequented, the time which is now consumed will be lessened, for this reason, that there are, beyond a doubt, several arms, or inlets, which follow a direct course*, without any of the windings of the bed of the river, generally attempted by those who are little versed in the navigation. The one half of the time, on the most moderate calculation, will be saved, whenever the track of the Mayro shall be rendered practicable ; since, in descending by the Pachitea and Ucayali to Manoa†, a circuitous route of upwards of three hundred leagues will be avoided. The new conversions having, with the help of the Mayro and Omaguas, been secured, will serve as a central point, whence the beneficent light of the gospel will shed and expand its rays, not only over the nations which people the interior of

* This was proved by what frequently occurred to the commissary of the missions, friar Manuel Gil, on his proceeding to the succour of Manoa. The barbarians sallied forth in their canoes, to obstruct his progress ; but by the dint of persuasions, caresses, and presents, suffered him to pass. He then ordered his boatmen to make every possible exertion with their oars, by day and by night, in order to shun these Indians ; and when he was persuaded that they were left several leagues behind, they returned, and again presented themselves in front of his canoes. This was certainly because the friar navigated by the great windings which the beds of the rivers take ; while the more experienced Indians followed the direction of the right arms.

† The ancient entrances of the monks belonging to the provincial Order of the Twelve Apostles, and the modern ones of the fathers of Ocopa, demonstrate the celerity of the navigation by the Mayro and Pachitea, to the Ucayali.

the Plains of the Sacrament, but likewise over all those which extend, through a territory without limits, to the other side of Paro.

And who can calculate the advantages which will result to the state, if, with religion, the commerce and navigation of these rivers should be introduced? The discovery of America caused a general revolution in the political system of societies, in the arts, and even in the sciences. The civilization of Dorado*, of Enim, and of Paititi, may bestow on them a new aspect, and augment the colours which embellish the delineation of South America. San Joachim de Omaguas, situated at the confluence of the Ucayali and Maranon, will then represent the ancient Tyre, at whose ports arrived the ships and productions of all the world. By the river of the Amazons will enter those of North America, those of Europe, and whatever Africa and Asia furnish to the latter. By the Pastaza and Maranon, Quito will send her cloths and statues. By the Huallaga and the Mayro, Lima will transmit the delicious oil distilled by the fruitful olives which adorn the coasts bathed by the Pacific Ocean. By the Apurimac will be conveyed the paintings and sugars of Cusco, and the gold of Carabaya. By the Beni will be navigated the linens of Moxos, and all the riches of Paititi. Rendered opulent by her marts, San Joachim de Omaguas, whilom regarded as the capital of the empire of Dorado, will cease to belie the idea of her magnificence which was then entertained.

The tranquil city of Huanuco, situated in the centre of the haven at the confluence of the Huallaga and Mayro, may enjoy the same advantages; and then all the riches which may be there collected, may be conveyed with safety to Callao, to be forwarded to their august proprietor. The revolution which this new commerce will induce in the system of power, and in navigation, will be followed by an equal revolution in the sciences. The philosopher will have to contemplate the canals opened by the hands of Nature, in the midst of the formidable mountains of the Cordillera, to afford a passage to the waters. The naturalist will be engaged in examining the great variety of unknown animals and plants. The geographer will no longer place the capital of the empire of the Yncas in the centre of the lofty regions of South America, but on the ports of the sea by which it is

* In the preceding peregrination, the limits of the two celebrated empires of Enim and Paititi were pointed out. That of Dorado, more ancient and more famous than either of them, runs from the western bank of the river Paro, to the eastern bank of the river Orinoko. The name of its capital was disputed: some would have it to have been Omaguas; while the majority contended that it was Manoa.

bathed to the north ; neither will he, between these coasts and those of the south, extend immense spaces, when the port of Callao is distant three degrees only from Mayro and Playa-Grande. With admiration history will relate, that in Ferrol, barks were constructed which had to navigate on the summits of the Andes mountains, passing over a plane of an elevation of two thousand toises above the surface of the ocean. All will appear.....The idea is enchanting ;—the reality will be the work of time.

INTERESTING NOTICES RELATIVE TO THE ENTRANCES MADE BY THE MONKS OF THE ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS, INTO THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORIES OF PERU, FROM EACH OF THE PARTS BORDERING ON THE CORDILLERA OF THE ANDES ; COMMUNICATED TO THE ACADEMICAL SOCIETY OF LIMA BY FATHER MANUEL SOBREVIELA *, GUARDIAN OF THE COLLEGE OF SANTA ROSA OF OCOPA.

ENTRANCES INTO THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY FROM THE SIDE OF HUANUCO.

FRIAR Philip Luyando, belonging to the provincial Order of the Twelve Apostles of Lima, was the first to engage in this enterprise. In the year 1631, he

* In making this communication, the reverend father thanks the members of the Academical Society, for having exercised their talents in drawing up the history of the missions of Caxamarquilla, and that of the travels which had been recently undertaken by father Girbal and himself, by the rivers Huallaga and Ucayali, with a view to restore the Manoa missions. "Throughout the whole of these estimable productions," he observes, "perspicuousness, brevity, exactitude, erudition, and method, are apparent, stamping an additional value on the discourse relative to the costumes, superstitions, and exercises, of the barbarous tribes inhabiting the mountainous territory." [See p. 264.] He next expresses his obligations to the Society for having effectually contributed to the publication of the map of the course of the above-mentioned rivers, drawn up by him, and which the Editor again laments he has not been able, by any exertion, to obtain. The principal motive of father Sobreviela, in causing this map to be engraved, appears to have been, to demonstrate, in a sensible manner, to each of the priests under his orders, the tracks they ought to follow, in proceeding to the towns of the existing missions, in the mountainous regions of the viceroyalty of Lima, and to those belonging to the innumerable barbarous tribes, in whose conversion his predecessors had employed so fervid a zeal, at the expence of immense labours and fatigues, leaving every part of the ground they had trodden bathed with their blood". [From the year 1637 up to that of 1790, the number of priests who perished by the hands of the infidels, in the mountainous territories of Peru, amounts to fifty-four.—*Amich, Comp. Hist.* p. 174.] "Their footsteps and example," he continues to observe, "ought to be followed, with equal fervour, by the missionaries belonging to the college of Ocopa, in compliance with the strict obligation imposed on them to propagate the faith ; in discharge of the royal conscience ; and in eternal gratitude to our Catholic monarch, who for that purpose sent us from Spain, and maintains us, with a liberal hand, at his own expence.

"The same tracks may likewise serve as a guide to the inhabitants of Peru, who may be desirous to penetrate these vast regions, to enrich themselves with the valuable productions with which they abound [Perigrination by the Huallaga, p. 412], since their immense and fertile plains are replete with useful trees and medicinal herbs. The multitude of animals, as well terrestrial, as belonging to the feathered tribes, is immense ; the rivers are filled with an innumerable variety of fishes ; and on their banks the savages wash and collect the gold and silver with which they fabricate the bracelets, half moons, breast-plates, &c. they wear as ornaments. [Tena—Mision. lib. i. p. 100.]

"To

he entered with a few companions, by the broken ground of Chinchao, the mountainous territory of Huanuco, with the glorious view of converting the pagan nations, the Panataguas, Chuscos, Tulumayos, Tinganeses, and Carapachos, who

“ To the end that the map might appear with fewer defects than have been noticed in those published in different parts of Europe, I have not been satisfied with the observations of the entrances I have myself made into the mountainous territory, by nearly all the frontiers of Peru; but have carefully examined the routes and plans which have been drawn up since the year 1631, by the priests of my order, and which are still preserved in the archives of my college. With respect to the laying down of the sites which I did not reach in my travels, towards the north, I have followed Condomine and Anville, whose exactitude has been generally approved.

“ The number of leagues and days’ journeys which are marked on the different roads and rivers, may perhaps appear to some to be excessive, considering the proportion which is regularly observed in the distances by land, to that which is exhibited in the scale of the map by elevation; but this is not in reality the case, since the flexures frequently occasioned by the ascents and descents of the very lofty mountains, and the windings of the rivers, which are encountered at every step, are so great, that in one day the traveller does not advance two leagues in a right line, notwithstanding he travels or navigates more than six, as I have myself experienced. I have also found by experience, that it is less laborious and hazardous to navigate ten leagues by the rivers, than to proceed one by the intricate forests, and thickets planted with briars. From whatever part the mountainous territory is penetrated, it is necessary to ascend the eastern Cordillera, or that of the Andes, which is so elevated and shelving on the western side, that it seems in a manner to bar the passage to its immense plains, from the inhabitants of the more elevated regions; since they are not able to descend to them, unless by broken grounds, the roads across which are both difficult and dangerous, on account of the crags and precipices, of the morasses formed by the snow, and of the infinite number of streams, which, uniting into large rivers, flow to pay the tribute of their portions of water to the famous Huallaga and Ucayali. These obstacles were without doubt the principal cause why nearly the whole of the expeditions to the mountainous territory miscarried, as well in the time of the Yncas, as in that of the Spaniards; and why, during a century after the conquest, not a single ecclesiastic entered, to undertake the conversion of the infinite numbers of barbarians by whom that territory was inhabited.” [Amich—Comp. Hist. p. 4.] “ Notwithstanding, the fervent children of St. Francis, after having gathered, with full hands, the copious harvest of infidels which the coasts, the adjacent hills, and the vallies, afforded them, began to overcome these difficulties, by effecting, in the year 1631, and consecutively, by different routes, various entrances, relative to which I have here drawn up brief notices, reserving a more full and particular account of them for the work in which I am now engaged, to be entitled: ‘ A Complete Illustration of the Mountainous Territories bordering on Peru; in which are shewn the prosperous and adverse results of the principal entrances from the time of the conquest; the innumerable nations of barbarians who have existed, and still exist, in that new world; their rites and customs; the most seasonable means of converting them to christianity, and securing their obedience to the sovereign; and, lastly, the valuable productions and treasures, belonging to the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, with which those territories abound.’—The authors of the Peruvian Mercury, in speaking of the present notices by father Sobreviela, observe that, when combined with what has already been given on the same subject, they form a brief but exact history, original in all its parts.

were

were there dispersed*; to the south, from the confines of Chinchao and Pillao to the opposite bank of the river Huanuco; to the north, as far as the banks of the river Tulumayo; and to the west and east, to those of the river Monzon, and the rugged land of Insuro. In a little time he succeeded in the conversion of the above-mentioned nations, and founded six populous towns†, which he named Tonua, Cuchero, Yaupat, Chusco, Tulumayo, and St. Philip of Tinganeses. In the year 1641, the apostolical missionaries, friars Gaspar Vera, and Juan Cabezas‡, augmented this spiritual conquest by the reduction of the Tipquis and Quidquidcanas tribes, laying the foundations, in the year 1643, of two towns, under the denominations of Trinidad of Tipquis, and Magdalena of Quidquidcanas.

In the year 1644, friars Ignacio de Irarraga, Geronimo Ximenes, and Francisco Suarez, proceeded from Tulumayo, and having travelled on foot over the mountainous territory, with incredible risks and fatigue, to the distance of eighty leagues in a northern direction, discovered the nation of the Payansos, consisting of upwards of twenty thousand souls, and inhabiting a valley of four leagues in breadth, and twenty-five in length, situated in the very centre of the branch of the Cordillera which runs between the river Huanuco and the Plain of the Sacrament. On receiving the information of so abundant a harvest, several other ecclesiastics took the same route, and laboured with so much fervour and success, that in the year 1650, they had founded, in the above-mentioned valley, four towns, which were entitled la Trinidad, Concepcion, St. Louis, and St. Francis, and in which upwards of seven thousand souls resided§.

In the year 1651, friar Alonzo Caballero|| proceeded from the Payansos to the Callisecas and Setebos, inhabiting the banks of the Ucayali, and, after a short stay, left with them two priests, and three lay brothers, who, by the practice of much toleration, established these barbarians in two towns. These establishments were shortly afterwards destroyed by the Sipibos, whose cruelty led them to put all the ecclesiastics to death. This disastrous event did not extinguish the fervent zeal of friar Lorenzo Tineo, and of several other apostolic missionaries, who, having provided themselves with an escort of twenty soldiers, penetrated, in the year 1661, to the above nation of Setebos¶, and soon succeeded in the conversion of upwards

* Tena, lib. i. p. 273.

† Cordova, lib. i. p. 161.

‡ Cordova, lib. i. p. 162.

§ Cordova, lib. i. p. 182.

|| Amich, p. 8.

¶ This nation, for the conversion of which measures are now taking (in 1791), is known by the appellation of Manoitias.

of two thousand souls, who were settled in two towns, which did not subsist, however, for any considerable time. The commander of the escort being charmed with the climate of the mountainous territory, quitted the new settlements with his soldiery; and the treacherous Callisecas no sooner perceived that the priests were left unprotected, than they attacked them in the town named Chupasnao, the latter defending themselves against the invasion with fire-arms. They at length found it prudent to flee from the danger, and retreated to Tulumayo, with a hundred Setebos, who followed them with an anxious wish to become christians. Notwithstanding the necessity of this retreat, and the imminent danger to which the above missionaries had been exposed, father Alonzo Caballero did not abandon the hope of the reduction of the Callisecas. Having been joined by friar Manuel Biedma, he returned with a few soldiers in the year 1663; and in that of 1665, a town, provided with a church, was completed*. In this place he left, as converter, the above-mentioned friar Manuel Biedma, who was succeeded by friar Rodrigo Vazabil. The establishment remained without any particular occurrence until the year 1667, when, for want of the necessary support, the conversion was most lamentably reduced: the Callisecas having entered into a confederacy with several other nations, made an irruption into the territory of the Payansos, where they put to death many christians, and among them the reverend fathers, friar Francisco Mexia, president of the Panataguas missions, and friar Alonzo of Madrid, together with five lay brothers. On this account, and in consequence of the small-pox, which raged with extreme violence among the converted Indians, from the above time to the year 1670, the conversions of Panataguas went on gradually diminishing, insomuch that in the year 1691, four towns only were to be reckoned, and in them not more than two hundred souls of either sex, and of the different ages, but so vicious, that scarcely a trace of christianity was to be found among them. In the year 1704, these conversions were completely lost, by the death of friar Geronimo de los Rios, who was barbarously murdered by a band of infidels, conjectured to belong to the tribe of Casibos. Not any further vestige of them was now to be found, beside the little town of Cuchero, inhabited by a very few Indians†.

In the year 1712, the venerable founder of the college of Ocopa, friar Francisco de San Joseph, native of the city of Mondejar in Alcarria, arrived at Huanuco, and seeing the impossibility of re-establishing the Panataguas missions, penetrated

* Amich, p. 9.

† Amich, p. 73.

into the mountainous territory, on the eastern side, until he came to the river Tuftani, on the banks of which he converted the nation of the Omages*, and founded the town of Pozuzu, which still exists, together with that of Tilinga, afterwards annexed to the preceding one. For the relief of the missionaries, on their entering or leaving the mountainous territory, and for the rearing of cattle destined for their support, he had an hospital built on a site named Chaglla. With the same view, another was erected at a spot named Muna. Each of them was provided with a church; and they are both at this time in the centre of towns inhabited by converted Indians.

From the year 1726 to that of 1755, eight entrances were made from Pozuzu to the haven of the river Mayro, and the Plain of the Sacrament†, without any other beneficial result beside that of having led to the discovery of the nation of Carapachos, and of having enabled the missionaries to collect a few fugitive Indians belonging to the tribe of Omages. In the year 1760, the fathers of Ocopa penetrated the mountainous territory, with immense difficulties and fatigues, from the conversions of Caxamarquilla to the banks of the Ucayali, where they accomplished the conversion of the Setebos, or Manoitas. In the year 1766, they had extended their spiritual conquest to the Sipibos and Conivos, who were settled in five towns, having the denominations of San Francisco of Manoa, Santo Domingo of Pisqui, Santa Barbara of Achani, Santa Cruz of Aguaitia, and San Miguel of the Conivos. With the intention of affording succour to these conversions, with less inconvenience and danger, by the route of Mayro and the river Pachitea, three expeditions from Pozuzu to the Plain of the Sacrament, were undertaken in the years 1763, 1765, and 1767‡. The first of these terminated fatally, father Francisco Francis having been put to death by the Casivos, after he had navigated by the Pachitea to nine degrees of latitude. The second reached the same site, but without reaping any other advantage beside that of having explored and noted the navigation of the Pachitea, from the haven of Mayro, situated in the latitude of nine degrees fifty-seven minutes, to the unfortunate port where father Francis was killed. The third went beyond the confluence of the Pachitea and Ucayali, but did not reach Manoa, in consequence of the melancholy intelligence communicated by the unconverted Indians, that the Sipibos, and other nations, had revolted, and murdered the whole of the missionaries, consisting of six priests and nine lay brothers. From the documents collected on these expeditions, and from those ob-

* Amich, p. 75.

† Amich, p. 86.

‡ Amich, p. 149, 153, and 160.

tained from the one made in the year 1783, by order of the viceroy, for the purpose of ascertaining whether a road for the passage of cattle could be opened from Pozuzu to the haven of Mayro, it results, that from Huanuco to Pozuzu there is a distance of thirty-three leagues, which may be performed with ease in six days. From Pozuzu to Mayro, the computed distance is sixteen leagues, which require three days; and from the haven of Mayro to the union of the rivers Pachitea and Ucayali, seventy leagues are reckoned, on account of the great windings made by the river. These may be navigated in five days; and the passage from the above-mentioned union to Manoa, in two or three. Hence it appears, that from Huanuco to Manoa there are a hundred and seventy leagues, which may be travelled by land and in canoes in sixteen days, as soon as the inhabitants of Panao shall have completed the road, for the passage of mules, from Pozuzu to Mayro, for the sum of four thousand piastres, agreeably to the formal contract they entered into with me in the month of July of the last year, 1790; and whenever the fortified town at the mouth of the haven shall be built, conformably to the mandate of his Majesty, inserted in various schedules, more particularly in those of the years 1777 and 1779.

When I perceived, in the year 1787, that all the roads for the restoration of the Manoa missions, by Caxamarquilla, Mayro, and Cuchero, were closed and impracticable; since, although it was possible by the latter route to proceed as far as the river Huanuco, both canoes and boatmen had been wanted since the year 1783, when the Indians were removed to the banks of the river Patayrrhondos, where a town was built, and named Playa Grande;—I resolved to open, and traced out accordingly, in the above year, a road from Huanuco to that town; giving notice, that from its haven the descent to the Marañon, or river of the Amazons, might be effected in ten days; that the traveller might proceed thence to the mouth of the Ucayali in four days; and that he might ascend in less than twenty to the Manoa settlements. I have prosecuted with much industry the opening of the above road, during the five years of my government; and this undertaking having at length been successfully accomplished, a portion of mountainous territory, of extreme fertility, and of the extent of upwards of nineteen leagues, has been gained, to the great advantage of the inhabitants of Huanuco, at the same time that the means have been afforded to commence the restoration of the Manoa missions, as has been related with clearness and precision by the authors of the Peruvian Mercury, in the narrative of the travels which have just been concluded by the Huallaga and Ucayali.

ENTRANCES INTO THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY BY THE SIDE OF TARMA.

Although the Cordillera of the Andes presents, on the side of Tarma, difficult roads by which to penetrate into the mountainous territory, still two passages have been effected as far as the mountain of salt. On the first of these occasions, the route which was followed was from the town of Paucartambo by that of Huancabamba; and in this enterprise six days were employed. The second expedition was directed from Tarma, by the rugged grounds of Palca and Chanchamayo, and reached the mountain of salt within the same space of time. The above-mentioned mountain is frequented by many uncivilized Indians, who proceed thither from the remotest parts of the elevated territory, in quest of the salt for their consumption and commerce. The vein of salt runs from the summit of the mountain, to the south-west, over a space of more than three leagues, and follows an equal distance towards the north-east, with a surface of thirty yards in breadth. It is of the kind denominated rock salt, blended with a certain portion of clay.

The first Franciscan monk who penetrated into the mountainous territory on this side, was friar Geronimo Ximenes*, who, in the year 1635, set out from the town of Huancabamba, and reached the above-mentioned mountain, on which he built a chapel, with the denomination of San Francisco de las Salinas. He proceeded thence to Quimiri, where he laid the foundations of a town which he entitled San Buenaventura: and, being anxious to propagate the doctrines of christianity among other barbarous nations, embarked, and descended by the river Perene, in company with friar Cristoval Larios, and twenty-eight Spaniards, all of whom perished by the hands of the barbarous Campas, in the year 1637. They were succeeded, in the spiritual conquest of the barbarians dwelling on the mountain of salt, and on the banks of the river Perene, by the apostolical missionaries, friars Joseph de Santa Maria, and Cristoval Mesa, whose efforts were so successful, that in the year 1640, seven chapels were founded for the benefit of the converts belonging to the nations of Omages and Campas.

In the year 1641, the venerable father, friar Matias de Yllescas†, and the lay brothers, Pedro de la Cruz, and Francisco Pena, propelled by their ardent zeal for the conversion of souls, braving all perils, and confiding solely in the Divine

* Cordova, lib. ii. p. 116.

† Cordova, lib. ii. p. 125.

Providence, embarked at Quimiri, and after having explored every part of the river Perene, prosecuted their voyage by the Paro and Ucayali. Having reached the vicinity of the river Aguaitai*, they were slain by the cruel Sipibos, or Callisecas.

The common report, that the mountain of salt abounded in mines of gold, excited at that time the avarice of several Spaniards, who, having selected a chief, and prevailed on two Franciscan monks to bear them company, proceeded thither†. Although their presence gave great umbrage to the Indians, the latter dissembled, and treated them with an apparent friendship and submission. The Spaniards being desirous to penetrate still further into the mountainous territory, embarked with the two monks, and proceeded on their voyage, with the aid of the barbarians, who still persisted in their fictitious friendship until the third day of the navigation, when they recommended to them to lay aside their arms, on the pretext that they might, with more convenience, be stowed in the canoes, and would be less exposed to the wet. The Spaniards having yielded to their treacherous suggestion, came to a winding of the river, where an ambush had been provided. They were there, as well as the monks, slain by the arrows of the Indians, who had concealed themselves on the bank, with the exception of two, who had the presence of mind to snatch up each of them a pistol, with which they made head against the savages. The latter, terrified at the fire-arms, allowed them to pass unmolested, and fled to the mountains, where they concealed themselves. By this miscarriage, and others which succeeded, the conversion of the heathens inhabiting the mountain of salt was irrecoverably lost‡.

In the year 1671, friar Alonzo Robles, accompanied by several priests and lay brothers, proceeded from Huancabamba to the mountain of salt, where he succeeded in the conversion of eight hundred Indians belonging to the tribes of Omages and Pacages§. In the year 1673, he augmented his spiritual conquest by upwards of two hundred Indians, whom he fixed in a town to which he gave the name of Santa Rosa of Quimiri, at a little distance from the spot where he had made a settlement for the former. Other barbarians belonging to the Omages tribe were converted daily, until at length several individuals, whose bounden duty it was to watch over the prosperity of the church and state, instigated by base motives of self interest, obtained, in the year 1674||, the government and direction

* Amich, p. 51.

§ Tena, lib. i. p. 31.

† Amich, p. 6.

|| Amich, p. 33.

‡ Amich, p. 6.

of these unfortunate converts. The monks were no sooner divested of this trust, than the Indians, finding themselves deprived of their spiritual teachers and guides, returned to the mountains, and to paganism. In the course of the following years infinite pains were taken to re-establish the above-mentioned conversions; but without being attended by any other result beside that of the sacrifice of friars Juan Valera, Francisco Huerta, and Juan Zavala, the former of whom was cruelly massacred by the barbarians, in the year 1694*, at Huancabamba, and the latter, on the banks of the Quimiri, about the same time.

These disastrous events, and the reflection that so many monks had from time to time perished by the hands of the infidels, made so strong an impression on those belonging to the provincial Order of the Twelve Apostles, that not one could be found with a sufficient resolution to undertake a new conquest, until the Divine Providence, in its unerring wisdom, directed the steps of the venerable founder of Ocopa, friar Francisco de San Joseph, in the year 1709, towards Tarma. Inspired by a fervent zeal for the salvation of the infidels, he solicited and encouraged the apostolical missionaries, friars Fernando de St. Joseph, Mateo Brabo, Honorio Matos, and Cristoval de San Joseph, to engage with him in this enterprise; and after he had executed a particular mission in the province of Tarma, penetrated with them, and two lay brothers, who joined the expedition, into the mountainous territory†. They there laboured with so much zeal and activity, that in the year 1730, nearly the whole of the nations dwelling on the banks of the river Perene were converted, and collected in six populous towns, under the denominations of Quimiri, Nixandarís, Cerro de la Sal, Eneno, Pichana, and San Tadeo de los Autes‡.

In the above year, 1730, was discovered the great Pajonal, so called on account of the high grasses with which the mountains that surround it are thickly covered§. This Pajonal constitutes a considerable portion of the mountainous territory which extends from the rivers Ene and Perene, more than forty leagues to the north, and thirty from west to east. On the north-west side it limits the Plain of the Sacrament, from which it is divided by the river Pachitea; and on the west it stretches to the very lofty mountains which contribute their copious streams to the great Paro. The spiritual conquest of the infidels inhabiting the Andes mountains of the Pajonal, was first undertaken by the venerable father, friar Juan de la

* Amich, p. 72.

† Amich, p. 80.

‡ Amich, p. 74.

§ Amich, p. 94, et sequentes.

Marca, who penetrated thither from San Tadeo de los Autes, where the mountains allow a rugged entrance; and who, in the year 1733, had succeeded in founding two towns, which he named Tampianiqui and Aporoquiaqui. The abundance of the harvest discovered in the Pajonal, drew thither several celebrated labourers, namely, the venerable fathers, friar Manuel Bajo, friar Alonzo, belonging to the Order of the Holy Ghost, friar Cristoval Pacheco, and friar Fernando, belonging to the Order of Jesus. Such was the effect of their zeal, that in the year 1735, they had augmented the conversion to five numerous towns, the Indians residing in which were docile, attentive to the instructions they received, and carefully enrolled. Friars Pedro Dominguez, Francisco Gazo, and several others, hastened to their succour, and wrought with so much earnestness and activity, that in the year 1739, there were not less than ten towns of converts, containing upwards of twenty thousand Indians, without reckoning the very considerable numbers of adults and infants who had been swept off in the course of the preceding years, by sickness and other casualties, after having submitted to the baptismal ceremony, and embraced christianity.

Such was the very flattering and successful progress made in these conversions, and in those of the mountain of salt, until at length, in the year 1742, a monster whom hell had engendered, swayed by ambition and pride, brought about their entire ruin, with the destruction of souls, lives, and properties, and in contempt of God and of the sovereign authority. This monster appeared in the person of the apostate Juan Santos, the pretended Ynca Atahualpa, whose open and declared rebellion was first manifested in the town of the great Pajonal, named Quisopango, whither he had been followed by a small number of conspirators. The flame might have been easily stifled on its breaking out, if the information given in the first instance by the converters had not been contemned. It was owing to this neglect that the rebel found time to reinforce himself, by bringing over new converts, and to fortify himself in the posts which enabled him to baffle the efforts of the troops, who had penetrated into the mountainous territory in various directions, with the intent of making him prisoner. The missionaries vented loud complaints when they perceived the gradual destruction of these very flourishing missions, which they had acquired and cultivated at the expence of their blood, sweat, and solicitude. The wish to maintain their converts in the christian faith, did not allow them to abandon these establishments; and they therefore came to the resolution to remain at their posts at every risk, and until the last extremity. This resolve was fatal to the venerable fathers, friars Domingo Garcia, and Joseph Cabanes,

banes*, who, together with a lay brother, were slain in the above year (1742), by the insurgents of the mountain of salt, at the time when roads were making to facilitate the passage of the troops destined by the viceroy to surprize and obtain possession of the rebel chief. Friars Francisco Otasua, and Salvador Pando†, notwithstanding this cruel massacre of their brethren, ventured to penetrate as far as Quimiri, where they remained during the space of three months, employing their most earnest endeavours to prevail on the rebel to surrender, but without effect. With a full persuasion of his obstinacy and perfidy, they retired, after an exposure to the most indignant treatment. Through a similar conviction, the other ecclesiastics yielded at length to the power of the rebel, and entirely abandoned their missions.

In the year 1779, at which time the present most venerable guardian of the Order of Franciscan Monks of Lima, father Joseph Sanchez, was prelate of Ocopa, an entrance was made into the mountainous territory, with a view to the restoration of the above-mentioned missions on the mountain of salt. The college undertook to defray the expences of opening a road, for the passage of cattle, from Palca to Chanchamayo; and the construction of a fort, to be provided with troops to repel the invasions of the enemy, was to be at the charge of the royal treasury. This was effected, and a settlement made of Indians residing on the frontiers; but on consideration of the risk of being intercepted by the barbarians, to which those who penetrated into the interior, by the new road over the broken ground of Palca, were constantly exposed, and for various other cogent reasons which presented themselves, the viceroy, in 1784, ordered the fort to be demolished, and the troops, settlers, and missionaries, to be withdrawn.

In the year 1787, it was resolved by the supreme authority, to open a new road, secure from the invasion of the barbarians, on the side of the valley of Vitoc. The direction and management of this enterprise were confided to Don Juan Maria Galves, governor and intendant of Tarma, who superintended the progress of the workmen with so much activity and zeal, that in the year 1788, travellers and beasts of burden were enabled to pass to the above-mentioned valley, where a fort was constructed, and provided with a respectable garrison. On this occasion I contributed a supply of provisions and working tools, in addition to which I caused a chapel and dwelling-house to be built for two missionaries, who still remain there in the enjoyment of the benefices afterwards conferred on them.

* Tena, lib. iii. p. 76.

† Tena, lib. ii. p. 213 et 228; lib. iii. p. 76.

All our labours and exertions will, however, be of little avail, if we do not succeed in obtaining possession of the mountain of salt. In the case of accomplishing this necessary aim, a fort should be constructed near the confluence of the river Chanchamayo with the Marancocha, and another on the above mountain, conformably to the ordonnance contained in the royal schedule dated in the month of March 1751. This very necessary project may be accomplished, at the present time, at a small expence. Thanks to the Divine Providence, there is no longer any dread, by the route leading to Vitoc, of a surprize on the part of the infidels, whose hostility, in the entrance by Palca, was greatly exaggerated by those who were determined to throw obstacles in the way of the enterprise. In the above-mentioned valley we are already in possession of two towns, protected by a fort, which, in case of invasion, may receive prompt succours, not only from the inhabitants of the department of Tarma, but likewise from that of Jauga. To the end that this might be the more readily accomplished, I caused to be opened, in the year 1789, a route of communication from Monabamba to the valley of Vitoc. It now only remains to lay open the five leagues of road from this valley to the rivers Chanchamayo and Marancocha; and that, at their confluence, which is at this time the boundary line between the Chunchos Indians and those converted to christianity, a fort should be constructed, by those who are interested in the success of the enterprise, with timbers hewn from the large trees with which their banks are covered.

This fort having been established, and a settlement made, on the site which has been pointed out, of Indians inhabiting the frontiers, the troops may be removed to a convenient station on the opposite bank of the river; and the towns which may be deemed necessary, may be founded at such a distance from each other, as to enable them to afford a reciprocal aid, as well by land as by water. In this way we may enter without risk or danger by the valley of Quimiri and Nixandaris, and may advance towards the mountain of salt, where the respectable fortification which has been ordered by our sovereign, ought to be constructed. We may follow the reduction and subjection of the nations of infidels and apostates who either reside in the two small towns above cited, or have retired to the interior of the mountainous territory. The new populations may be formed, not only of the idolatrous Indians whom we shall be able to entice by the means of presents and commerce, but likewise of those who will voluntarily seek an establishment in those very fertile tracks of land, and of the many poor and lazy Indians on the frontiers, who scarcely possess what is absolutely necessary to the maintenance of their wretched families. But to the end that the latter may enter at a seasonable time,

time, to engage in the tasks requisite for the planting of the portions of ground which may be allotted to them, it is essential that the sub-delegates should have them enregistered, and keep them under a strict restraint. These poor families may be subsisted, at the commencement, on the salted meats and maize with which the college of Ocopa is enabled to supply them, from the alms it collects, until they can gather the first fruits, consisting of beans, squashes, maize, sweet potatoes, and mani, all of which come to maturity in the space of four months. With these resources they may be enabled to reach the end of the year, when their lands will supply them with an abundance of plantains, yucas, and other productions. They should afterwards be obliged to form plantations of sugar-canes, coca, and cotton; and, in exchange for these commodities, the inhabitants of the surrounding districts will supply, as they did before the insurrection, cattle, brandy, cloths, working tools, &c. The new settlers may themselves rear goats, hogs, fowls, and other animals, with which they will enjoy a greater share of prosperity than in the mountainous territory, and will proportionably be better enabled to discharge the tribute.

ENTRANCE INTO THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY, FROM JAUXA, BY COMAS AND
ANDAMARCA.

The Cordillera of the Andes is not, perhaps, in any part so inaccessible, as in the entrance from Jauxa, by Comas and Andamarca; seeing that it is necessary to cross three difficult branches, the continual precipices presented by which, and the great number of morasses, having their surfaces frozen, encountered in the intervening spaces, render the road in a manner impassable. This is the reason why, at the time of the first entrances made by this route, the opening of a track for the passage of cattle was deemed impracticable. It thus happened that the travellers were reduced to the necessity of carrying the provisions on their shoulders, with incredible labour and fatigue. The wish, however, to contribute to the salvation of the Indians residing in the mountainous territory, many of whom were accustomed to pay a visit, in the summer season, to the town of Andamarca, with the pious view of submitting to the baptismal ceremony, stimulated the venerable father Biedma to overcome these difficulties, apparently invincible. This truly apostolical man, after having dedicated his fervent zeal to the conversion of the

Panataguas

Panataguas and Callisecas, proceeded, in the year 1673, to the valley of Jauxa. From the town of Andamarca*, he penetrated on foot into the interior, accompanied by a lay priest, and two lay brothers, without any provision beside a small store of cheese and roasted maize; and after having travelled eight days over the most rugged paths imaginable, reached the land of the idolatrous Campas, who received him with outward demonstrations of joy and benevolence. He there founded a town on which he bestowed the name of Santa Cruz of Sonomoro. He was visited† by the tribes of Pangoas, Menearos, Anapatis, and Pilcosumis, who resided in the southern part; by the Satipos, Copiris, and Tomirisatis, dwelling on the northern side; and by the Cobaros and Pisiataris, inhabiting the western quarter. All these tribes are known by the common appellation of Andes or Campas; but are distinguished among themselves by the names above pointed out, some of them derived from the rivers on the banks of which they reside; others from the particular districts or quarters they inhabit; and others, again, from the chiefs by whom they are governed.

The venerable servant of God, friar Francisco Izquierdo, having noticed the abundant harvest discovered by father Biedma in Sonomoro, set out from Quimiri, in the year 1674, with three companions, to afford him his spiritual aid. A consultation having been holden between the two, relative to the difficulty of the entrance by Andamarca; and it having been agreed, that the access from Quimiri, by the river Perene, was easier and more practicable, they resolved that the entrances should be made by that route, and that, for the relief of the fathers, a settlement should be formed between Santa Cruz and Quimiri, in the district named Pichana, where many infidels who had manifested a desire to become christians resided. With this intention, father Izquierdo proceeded, without loss of time, to the site above referred to; but had scarcely founded the convent and church, when an Indian named Mangore, at the head of a faction, possessed with a diabolical fury, entered the convent‡, accompanied by his confederates. Instantly this infernal crew discharged a shower of arrows on father Izquierdo, on a lay brother, and on an Indian boy who had been converted to christianity: they fell, and were so effectually knitted together by the arrows of the assassins, that they appeared to be one and the same body, belonging to an animal armed with quills. Glutted with the blood of these innocent victims, Mangore ascended, with his partisans, the river Perene, with a fixed resolution to put to death all the converters. On

* Amich, p. 11.

† Tena, lib. i. p. 35.

‡ Amich, p. 28.

his route, he fell in with the venerable fathers, Francisco Carrion, and Antonio Zepeda, who were descending from Quimiri to assist father Izquierdo in his new settlement; and deprived them of life with the utmost cruelty. Triumphant, and rejoicing at the progress he had made in his wicked purpose, he reached Quimiri, where, having communicated to the Indians the butcheries he had just executed, and his determination to kill all the fathers, they attacked and fell on him and his partisans with such an abundance of clubs, stones, and billets of wood, that the assassins were quickly dispatched. A sister of this very Mangore, taking up a large stone, directed it with so true an aim, and with so much force, against the head of her brother, that she laid him senseless on the ground.

In consequence of the above melancholy events, the conversion of Santa Cruz remained for some time without protection, until the fervour of father Biedma led him to return thither, with a few companions, in the year 1681. He had previously made such improvements in the road between Andamarca and Sonomoro, as to render it passable by mules. In a little time he re-established the town of Santa Cruz*, and founded another town with the name of San Buenaventura of Savini. In the year 1684, he opened a road from Sonomoro to the junction of the rivers Ene and Perene; and being anxious to bring into the bosom of the church, the many nations dwelling on the banks of the river Paro, embarked in the year 1686†, and descended to the vicinity of the confluence of the river Pachitea with the Ucayali, where he was well received by the numerous nation of the Conivos. Having there founded a chapel and town, he returned, keeping on his route an exact diary, and recording the names of all the nations residing on the banks of upwards of forty rivers, all of which pay the tribute of their copious stores of water to the Gran-Paro. On the banks of the river Camarinigua, he established another town of Conivos‡, under the denomination of San Joseph; and left there, in quality of converter, father Antonio Vital. This monk remained in the above town, until the sad tidings were brought to him, that the Piros had put to death father Biedma and his companions. Finding himself, therefore, alone, and without hope or prospect of succour, he descended in a canoe, with six Indians, by the Ucayali, as far as the river of the Amazons, by which he ascended, and penetrated into the interior by the Huallaga, he having been, at that time, the first and only individual, his Indian companions excepted, who had completed the course of the navigation of these rivers; since he penetrated from Jauxa, by Andamarca, to

* Amich, p. 41.

† Tena, lib. i. p. 76,

‡ Tena, lib. i. p. 101.

the junction of the Ene and Perene, navigating the whole extent of the Paro and Ucayali, and ascending by the Marañon and Huallaga, to the river Moyobamba. Having landed on its banks, he proceeded by land to Caxamarca.

The details relative to the tragical end of father Biedma are as follows: being desirous, in the year 1687, to pay another visit to his Conivos*, he embarked at the above-mentioned junction of the Ene and Perene, having in his company two priests, a lay friar and a lay brother, together with several converted Indians whom he had engaged in his service at Sonomoro. After a few days had been spent in the navigation of the Paro, the party fell into an ambush of Piro and Comavos Indians, who made a general discharge of arrows, by which they were all killed. This disastrous event was fatal to the projects of the provincials of the Order of the Twelve Apostles, and was the cause of the entire loss of the conversions of Jauxa†; on this account, that father Biedma having taken with him nearly the whole of the persons he employed as his coadjutors at Sonomoro, the few who still remained there being seized with a violent panic, abandoned the converts. The latter, finding themselves without a pastor, returned to the mountains, and to paganism.

The conversions which have been just cited, remained in this abandoned state until the year 1713‡, when the venerable founder of Ocopa, obeying the impulsion of his ardent zeal, proceeded with hasty steps from frontier to frontier, and having reached that of Jauxa, took the necessary measures for their re-establishment. In the prosecution of this pious intention he was so successful, that, with the help of several zealous co-operators belonging to the provincial order, the most distinguished of whom were friar Fernando de San Joseph, a native of the mountains of Burgos, and friar Juan de la Marca, by birth a Frenchman, in the year 1730, four populous and flourishing towns, entitled Sonomoro, Chavini, Jesus Maria, and Catalipango, were to be reckoned. The last was destroyed in the year 1737, by a cacique named Torote, who, after having barbarously put to death a lay brother and several Indian converts, proceeded, in the course of the same year, to the town of Sonomoro, where he massacred, with equal cruelty, the venerable fathers, friar Manuel Baxo, friar Alonzo, belonging to the Order of the Holy Ghost, and friar Cristoval Pacheco§. The governor, Don Benito Troncoso, was no sooner apprised of this tragical event, than he assembled all the troops he could collect in the valley of Jauxa, and penetrated with them, and a few

* Tena, lib. i. p. 123

† Amich, p. 76.

‡ Amich, p. 69.

§ Amich, p. 101.

missionaries, into the mountainous territory, where he quelled the rebellion, and after having inflicted a severe chastisement on the ringleaders, succeeded in bringing about an entire pacification. The next measure to be carried into effect, was the construction of a fort or castle, to serve as a shelter and protection to the reverend missionaries and their converts.—It was speedily fabricated by the means of the large and excellent timber produced on the mountains; was of a square shape; and armed with four pederaroes. An ensign and fourteen soldiers, provided with the necessary stores and ammunition, were left in it as a garrison.

In the year 1736, the new converts belonging to the tribe of Chichirenes were established in two towns, entitled Upper Parua and Lower Parua. The town of Catalipango was at the same time rebuilt; and so successful a progress was made in the conquest of other tribes, with the help of the spiritual reinforcement of the second mission, which reached Peru from Spain in the year 1737, that several towns were founded*, and those of Santa Cruz preserved until the year 1751, when the rebel Atahualpa, at the instigation of the female Indian with whom he was associated, proceeded to Sonomoro from the mountain of salt, with a view to oblige the tribes of Chichirenes and Andes to submit to his domination. The fort happened to be in want of the provisions and arms necessary to maintain a protracted siege†; and although the fidelity of the converts to God and the supreme authority, remained unshaken, they were reduced to the necessity of abandoning their country. They accordingly decided to accompany the missionaries to the valley of Jauxa, to the end that they might not forsake the faith in Jesus Christ. Thus terminated the celebrated missions of Jauxa, which had been acquired by the reverend fathers, by the dint of incalculable fatigues, and by so many lives sacrificed on the altars of the faith.

The journey from Andamarca, by Sonomoro, to the junction of the rivers Ene and Perene, was formerly performed in ten days on the backs of mules; but the road is now entirely obstructed. On this account, and in consideration that, even if this road should be again opened and rendered practicable, it would still be extremely rugged; but more especially because, in re-establishing the missions of the mountain of salt, we may penetrate from them to Sonomoro with less difficulty, agree-

* The missionaries who came from Spain in the years 1731 and 1737, not only preserved the missions which had been re-established by friar Francisco de San Joseph, but likewise added to them the two towns of Parua, and sixteen others, which they founded in the Pajonal.—*Tena*, lib. ii. p. 182.

† Amich, p. 429

ably to the information which was left us by father Biedma and his companions, I came to the resolution, in the year 1789, to improve the road from Ocopa, by Monobamba, to the valley of Vitoc. With the permission of the supreme authority, I accelerated the execution of this plan; and re-established the town of Monobamba, which had been destroyed in the year 1744, through the insurrection of Santos Atahualpa. In concert with Don Juan Romero Calvo, sub-delegate, *ad interim*, of Jauxa, I engaged five hundred Indians belonging to the frontier, to perform the necessary labours, maintaining them, and supplying them with working tools, at the expence of my college. All the bad parts of the road leading from Yauri, distant one league from Jauxa, to Tambillo, where the ridge of the mountainous territory commences, a space of seven leagues by computation, were speedily mended; and six leagues were afterwards cleared to the old town and delightful valley of Monobamba. Five other leagues were next opened and levelled, to establish the communication between Monobamba and the valley and fort of Vitoc. Lastly, a church, a house for the reception of the ecclesiastics, quarters for the troops, and a convent, were built by me; and I left two missionaries in the spiritual charge of the new settlers.

ENTRANCE INTO THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY BY THE SIDE OF HUANTA.

In the year 1677, the venerable father Biedma*, with a view to procure a better entrance to Sonomoro than the one by Andamarca, above pointed out, proceeded to the Andes of the town of Tambo, distant seven leagues from Huanta, and embarked on the river Pampas, or Cocharcas. After having navigated for the space of eight days, he was led to debark, in consequence of having ascertained that, in following this course, he should be obliged to deviate very considerably from his direct route. He next passed to the Andes of Huanta and Viscatan, entering afterwards by the rugged ground of Conchagara and Chiquia. On every side, and in every direction by which he attempted to penetrate, he found the entrance more and more difficult, and the Cordillera less accessible.

In the year 1738†, friar Joseph Cavanés, having the same object in view, pene-

* Amich, p. 35.

† Tena, lib. ii. p. 181.

trated into the interior with a few companions, and directed his route from Ocopa towards Huancayo, Acopalca, Cochangara, Laloma, Surcubamba, Tintaybamba, Palmapampa, Churubamba, and Sanabamba. Having fully ascertained the rugged nature of the roads, he returned without any other fruit beside that of having baptised the children of several of the Indians who had sought a refuge in the mountainous territory, either in escaping from the pursuit of justice, or in fleeing from the restraints imposed on them in the spiritual jurisdictions in which they had been established. Having thus expatriated themselves, they dwelt in the above morasses and broken grounds, in such a state of ignorance and barbarity, as to be scarcely distinguishable from the savages.

In the year 1747, the venerable father, friar Manuel Albaran*, accompanied by a lay priest, and a lay brother, set out with the same intention, and with a view to promote a readier access to the mountainous territory, to the end that the rebel Atahualpa might be made to surrender. Having descended, however, by the marshy grounds of Acon, to the banks of the river Apurimac, he was, together with his retinue, slain by the arrows of the barbarians belonging to the tribes of Antis, Simirinchas, and Piros.

Information having been brought to Ocopa, that the Antis or Andes Indians had repeatedly come down from the mountains, in the years 1778 and 1779, by the morasses of Viscatan and Sanabamba, and had manifested a wish to become christians, friars Valentin Arrieta, and Joachim Soler, penetrated into the interior, in the year 1781, by the above-mentioned morasses. A chapel was built, in the course of the following year, in the vicinity of the banks of the river of Jauxa, named by the Indians Mantaro. Several individuals belonging to the uncivilized tribes, visited the reverend fathers, with a docility which afforded great hope of their conversion; but the latter fell sick, and quitted the spot. In the year 1786, friars Bernardo Ximenes Berajano, and Tadeo Giles, proceeded thither; but falling sick likewise in the course of a few months, the conversion to which a reference has been made, was entirely abandoned.

Although at the commencement of my government, I had determined on an entrance in the above direction, I was deterred from carrying this plan into effect, by the reflections I made on the great extent and ruggedness of the road thither, and on the practicability of approaching the above idolatrous nations more readily, by navigating in balsas, by the river Apurimac, from the conversion of Simariba. On this head I now proceed to speak with my accustomed brevity.

In the year 1784, the missionaries of Ocopa penetrated, by the low grounds of Tamboconga and Sana, to the plain of St. Augustine. They found, on the banks of the river Apurimac, several Indians who received them with tokens of pleasure; and in consequence, in the year 1785, a convent and chapel were built, at the distance of half a league from that river, with the title of the Assumption of Simariba. This spot was resorted to by the savages, who came thither, some with a view to their instruction in the christian doctrine, and others to procure working tools. In the year 1788, I set out on a visit to this mission, and perceiving that not any progress had been made, in consequence of the inconsiderable numbers of the Indians, and of their residing on the opposite bank of the river, I proceeded to the spot where their huts were erected, and built in its vicinity a house and chapel, on which I bestowed the name of St. Antonio of Intate. This establishment no longer subsists, in consequence of the greater number of the infidels having passed over to the side of Simariba. At the same time I gave instructions to three of the fathers converters, to ascend and descend the Apurimac in balsas, and to register the Indians who dwelt on its banks. From their excursion, and the journal of observations they kept, it resulted, that six small settlements, each provided with its chapel, might be made at proportionate distances, from the junction of the river of Pampas with the Apurimac, to that of the Jauxa, or Mantaro, with the same river. To carry this project into effect, friar Mateo Mendez, with the help of the succours graciously afforded him by the intendant of Huamanga, ascended in the year 1789, by the Apurimac, a distance of five leagues, and succeeded in the conversion of a considerable number of Indians, whom he established in a town denominated by him St. Louis of Maniroato, on a site so named by the barbarians. A house and chapel were there erected, by the converted Indians, and others belonging to the frontier. In the course of the following year, 1790, a new conversion, distant, in descending the river, four leagues from Simariba, was founded, with the title of San Buenaventura of Quiempiric; and at the same time, the house and chapel of Simariba were rebuilt. All these proceedings, with the requisite documents and journals, I have communicated to the supreme authorities of Lima, and to the sovereign. Simariba is distant from Huarta twenty-eight leagues, which may be performed with ease by mules in five days, proceeding by Tambo, Pulperia, Tamboconga, and Sana.

ENTRANCE FROM CHACHAPOYAS TO THE JUNCTION OF THE RIVER MOYOBAMBA
WITH THE HUALLAGA.

The first entrance into the mountainous territory on this side, was undertaken by Pedro Ursoa, in concert with Lope de Aguirre, in the year 1560*. He reached the spot where the Moyobamba disembogues itself into the Huallaga, and there built five vessels with the intent of proceeding to survey the river of the Amazons; but the tyrant Aguirre deprived him of his life, and effected his escape with the armament. At length, however, he paid on a gibbet the forfeit due to his crime.

The second entrance was made somewhere about the year 1650†, by general Don Martin de la Riba, who subjugated the territory of Lamas and Cumbasa. Over this conquest he presided for the space of thirty years, until his death, when the government of the Lamistas tribes was annexed to the jurisdiction of Chachapoyas.

In the year 1685, friar Alexandro Salazar, a Franciscan monk, penetrated from Chachapoyas to the morasses bordering on the river Huambo, and there subdued the idolatrous nations, the Cheduas, Alones, and Choltos‡. They were collected in three towns, which were preserved for a long time, under the title of the presidency of Santa Rosa of Huambo, until at length they were finally ceded to the administration of Truxillo.

From Chachapoyas to the river Huallaga, more than seventy leagues, over rough and perilous roads, are computed. The traveller who is provided with a mule, may, notwithstanding, perform this journey with ease in sixteen days, at the rate of from four to five leagues per day, provided he proceeds by the following towns and halting places: Taulia, Ventilla, Bagasan (here the mountainous territory commences), Almirante, Pucatambo, Visitador, Santo Torribio, Moyobamba, Quilliarrumi, Calaveras, Bella-Vista, Potrero (hence to Tabaloso, two days are required), Lamas, and Cumbasa; thence to the port of Juan de Guerra, there are four leagues over a beautiful plain, planted with lofty trees, which may be crossed in two hours and a half. Having embarked at the above-mentioned port, the traveller reaches, in somewhat more than an hour, the junction of the Moyobamba with the Huallaga.

* Amich, p. 4.

† Tena, lib. i. p. 305.

‡ Tena, lib. i. p. 305.

ENTRANCE OR DESCENT BY THE MARANON, FROM TOMEPENDA, IN THE PROVINCE OF JAEN, TO THE TOWN OF THE LAKE OF GRAN COCAMA.

From the port of Tomependa, situated on the bank of the river Chinchipe, the descent to the town of the lake is made in nine days, in the manner following: from the above-mentioned port, the thirty leagues by computation to the mouth of the Imasa*, are navigated by balsas in one day. It will cease to excite surprize, that these balsas should run over such a distance in ten or twelve hours, when attention is paid to the extraordinary rapidity of the united currents of the rivers Chinchipe, Chachapoyas, and Maranon. In the intermediate distance, the following *pongos* occur: Rentema, Cunugiacu, Ujure, Zinquipongo, Puyaya (a little below the town of that name), Yullpa, Tariquisa, Cacangarisa (this is the narrowest of all the pongos), Yamburana, Moape, Huanguana, and sixteen others, the names of which I omit. These pongos are straits formed by high and pendant cliffs, over which the descending torrents force a passage with such a degree of violence, as to occasion terrible billows, eddies, and whirlpools, by which the balsas are submerged. The latter are composed of fifteen logs or beams of wood†, twelve yards in length, and somewhat less in their united breadth, the narrowness of the pongos not admitting a greater extension. They are furnished with a lofty and solid tilt, formed of canes, beneath which the cargoes are made secure with strong cords‡. At the extremities, as well as at the parts where the beams are united, other beams, half a yard in height, are firmly attached in the manner of small pillars; and by these the navigators secure themselves, at the time when the balsa, which, however, speedily returns to float on the water, is submerged in the pongos. The navigation from the mouth of the Imasa to the town of la Barranca, requires five days, during which the traveller has to pass the pongos of Cumbinama§, Eскурri-

bragas,

* But a few years have elapsed since this navigation was first practised. The Indians of Tomependa are, notwithstanding, extremely dexterous in performing it; and by this route several days are saved.

† This wood is pale, of a soft texture, and extremely light. It is named by the Indians, balsa; by the Spaniards, canna veja; and is conjectured to be the ferula of the Romans.—*Ulloa*.

‡ These cords, and those which are employed to lash the beams, &c. are made of the interwoven fibrous stems of the bejuco, a plant of the kind denominated creepers.

§ Instead of pongo, this may with more propriety be named *salto*, by which a craggy inlet is implied; since, the river being here pent up, the water forsakes its course, and rushes into a hollow rock, the one half of the cavity of which it occupies. In its sudden fall, it occasions such furious and lofty billows,

bragas*, Huaracayo†, and Manseriche‡. Having cleared the latter, a bark or canoe is hired at Borja; and thence the whole of the navigation by the Marañon is highly agreeable, and free from the smallest danger. Not more than three days are required from la Barranca to the lake.

The return from the lake to Tomependa is more difficult, and more tedious in proportion; insomuch, that from the lake to la Barranca six days are consumed, and to Borja eight. On the third day's navigation, in ascending from Barranca, the traveller falls in with a torrent named Onoaga: at this spot loose stones begin to make their appearance; and the knats and mosquitoes, which had before been inseparable companions, cease to be troublesome. A winding of the river having been passed, the second torrent, named Sapape, occurs. In the following flexure lies the third, named Payguero; and after two other windings have been passed, the fourth, named Vacas, is fallen in with. Four other torrents, named Chote, Platero, Fatiga, and Calenturas, occur in the subsequent flexures of the river; and the ninth and last, named Pedregal, falls at the foot of Borja. The sites of all these torrents are bad passes in the ascent, which must necessarily be accomplished by the banks of the river, to avoid contending against the strong current in the centre. As in all these passes there is but little water near the banks, it is necessary to raise the vessel from time to time with levers, and to push it along until a sufficient depth can be found. In one day the navigator proceeds by the strait of Borja to Santiago; in four, to the pongo of Huaracayo; in two, to that of Escurribragas; in three, to that of Cumbinama; in one, to the mouth of the Imasa (a

that it becomes necessary, in the ascent more particularly, to discharge the cargoes, and drag the vessels to the opposite bank.

* This pongo is formed of a shelving cliff in a semicircular shape. The river extends by this curvature, within which the water appears to be stagnant. In its effort, however, to flow out at the side opposite to that by which it entered, it is obstructed and forced back by the rocks, which give it a strong impulsion towards the stream. The collision that ensues occasions considerable whirlpools and eddies, to shun which the Indians are under the necessity of drawing the vessel from the bank, by the means of bejuco cords.

† In this pongo there is the same risk as in the preceding one, with this difference, however, that on each side of the bank the cliffs are so smooth and slippery, that the Indians, in the ascent of the river, have not any footing to enable them to draw the vessel with the bejuco cords. They are therefore obliged to wait until the vortex is subdued by the impulse of the current.

‡ This is a strait of nearly two leagues in length, formed of two parallel cliffs, by which the river is narrowed to such a degree, that its breadth of six hundred yards, before its junction with the river Santiago, is reduced to fifty. The constant breaking of the waves against the rocks has made several formidable caverns, resembling houses, with their saloons, chambers, &c.

rivulet,

rivulet, on reaching which he quits the Marañon); and in two, to the haven by the river Chuchunga. From the haven to the passage there are two days' journeys by land, which are performed on foot, partly by intricate forests, and partly across swampy grounds; and from the passage, which is so called because the Marañon is there crossed in a balsa to Pomara, the traveller reaches Tomependa in one day with the aid of a mule, and in two on foot.

DESCENT BY THE MARAÑON FROM THE LAKE TO THE PORT OF TEFE, A PORTUGUESE COLONY.

Towards the close of the details relative to my peregrination by the river Huallaga, drawn up by the Academical Society, mention was made* of the time required in descending, in canoes, which make a very rapid progress by day and by night, from the above-mentioned lake to Tefe. The information there given was communicated to me, at the town of Gran Cocama, by Don Juan Salinas Zenitayoga, commander of the fourth division of the limits of the Marañon, lieutenant-governor of the province of Maynas, &c. who is well versed in the navigation of the Marañon, which he has practised more than twelve years. To this information I have now to add the result of my own practical observations, namely, that if the navigation be performed in large barks laden with merchandizes, twenty days are occupied in the above-mentioned descent, instead of the eight employed by the canoes, on a supposition that the barks are not engaged, in the prosecution of the voyage, more than twelve hours each day. To ascend from Tefe to the lake requires nearly treble that time; since from the port of Tefe to that of Caysara, one day is spent; to Tontevoa, seven; to the port of Matura, eight; to San Pablo, three; to Yaguari, six; to the frontier of Tabatinga, one and a half (the places thus far recapitulated are Portuguese establishments); to that of Loretto, two (here commence the towns of the Maynas missions); to Camucheros, three; to Pevas, four; to Napeanos, five; to Omaguas, three; to San Regis, three and a half; to Urarinas, nine; and to the lake, three days; amounting in the whole to fifty-nine days.

Doctor Mariano Salazar, rector of Yurimaguas, to whom I was indebted for the necessary supplies, in the descent from his town by the Huallaga, gave me the fol-

* Page 425.

lowing practical information respecting the time which is required in ascending from the lake to Quito, and in the return. From the lake the traveller enters the Marañon by the Huallaga, and ascends in four days to the mouth of the river Pastasa. Proceeding by this river, he reaches in one day the port of Santander; in twelve, the town of Pinches; in two, that of Andoas; and in twenty, that of Canelos*. He travels thence by land, in eight days, to the baths; in one and a half, to Hambato; to Tacunga, in one day; and in two, to Quito. The return is much shorter, seeing that it does not require more than twenty-seven days and a half: the twelve and a half, as before, by land, to Canelos; thence, descending by the Bobonaza, to Andoas, seven days; to the mouth of the Pastasa, six days; and to the lake, two. It may hence be inferred, that it requires much less time to proceed from Lima to the lake, than from the lake to Quito; and the same observation applies to the return. Accordingly, in the route from Lima, twenty-three days only are employed†; and I did not require more than thirty-nine for the return, in the manner following: from the lake to Yurimaguas, three days; to the junction of the Moyobamba with the Huallaga, seven; to that of the Huayabamba, three; to the Port del Valle, two; to Sion, one; to the port of Pampa-Hermosa, three; and to Playa-Grande, eight. From the above town, the journey overland to Huanuco was performed by me in four days; and proceeding thence, at the expiration of eight others I reached Lima.

ENTRANCE INTO THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF HUAMILIES.

By this department the traveller may reach the river of Huanuco, by directing his route from Chavin to the haven of Chicoplaya, distant twenty-eight leagues. Twenty-six of these leagues are performed, with the help of mules, in five days, the following baiting-places intervening: namely Tantamayo, Carpa, Santa Rosa, Chipaco, Monzon, and Chicoplaya; and the other two are travelled on foot, from the latter town to its haven: thence to Playa-Grande there are nine leagues, which

* After having spent one day in the ascent from Andoas, he quits the Pastasa, and prosecutes the navigation by the river Bobonaza.

† Page 425.

are navigated by the river Monzon; and four and a half to the junction of that river with the Huanuco. The above town of Playa-Grande was established in the year 1782, by the means of the small number of Indians belonging to the conversion of Cuchero, and of several others who joined them from the conversions of Caxamarquilla: it has constantly received the spiritual aid of the missionaries of Ocopa; but the same cannot be said relatively to the adjacent town of San Francisco of Monzon, or Chicoplaya. The latter owed its origin, three or four years before the foundation of Playa-Grande, to the casualty of Don Matias Abadia having penetrated as far as the river Monzon. He found in its vicinity a few Indians belonging to our conversions; and having engaged them, by the dint of gifts and promises, to assist him in the execution of his projects, he prevailed on them to fix their huts on the bank of the above river. At the commencement, their spiritual concerns were directed by a secular priest, and afterwards by a monk of the Order of Mercy; but this was not of any long duration. Friar Francisco Alvarez de Villanueva, in the visit he paid to the conversions in the year 1788, pointed out to them the haven as the most eligible site for their residence, and left directions that they should be removed thither. To this arrangement they did not, however, consent. He at the same time entrusted their spiritual government to friar Juan Sugranes, whom, in virtue of a brief transmitted to me by the intendant of Tarma, I instituted, in 1789, in the office of rector and converter of the above-mentioned town.



ENTRANCE INTO THE MOUNTAINOUS TERRITORY FROM THE DEPARTMENT OF PATAZ, OR CAXAMARQUILLA.

The origin and progress of the missions of Caxamarquilla having been related, with the greatest exactitude and perspicuity, by the Academical Society, I shall briefly say on this head, that from the department of Pataz, three roads leading to the river Huallaga have been opened. By the first, a distance of forty leagues, from Tayabamba to Pampa-Hermosa, may be performed on foot, or in a hammock borne on the shoulders of Indians, if the traveller deems it a preferable conveyance, in seven days. The second route is from Caxamarquilla to the towns of Sion and del Valle;—a computed distance of fifty leagues, which may be accomplished,

plished, either on foot or in a hammock, in eight days. The third leads from Capellania to Pajaten, the distance being nearly the same as by the preceding route. From Pajaten the traveller descends, in a canoe, in a day and a half, to the town of Pachiza, which was founded by me in the year 1790, to the end that those who should navigate by the Huallaga, might find a place in which to repose, and to provide themselves with the necessary refreshments.

ITINERARY FROM CHAVIN TO CHICOPLAYA.

HAVING quitted Chavin of Pariaca by the new road*, the traveller has to proceed four leagues to the town of Xican, whence to the *tambo*† of the Virgin, he passes over a league of fertile ground abounding in pastures. Here the rugged heights which form the frontier of the mountainous territory begin; and the shelter they afford renders the cold less sensible than before. A league and a half further, a spacious cavern, formed by Nature, and named by the Indians, Quisulloomachai, offers a lodging to the passengers, however numerous they may be; and in its vicinity they will find abundant pastures for their cattle. If they are desirous, however, to be more commodiously lodged, they will proceed another league, to the tambo of Magrapata, the pastures still presenting themselves as before. Somewhat more than half a league beyond this baiting place, lies Palmamachai, where the mountainous territory commences, and where there are likewise good pastures, together with several natural caverns in the rocks, affording as good a lodging as can be desired, and a number of huts built by the guides. A quarter of a league further, the traveller reaches the site named Querecoto: it may be denominated a town, in consequence of the numerous huts built there by the workmen who were engaged in making the new road. From Querecoto to Puclartambo, which implies the tambo of recreation, distant a league and a quarter, several large and beautiful plains, highly susceptible of cultivation, and containing the vestiges of plantations and decayed huts, present themselves to the traveller's view. Having proceeded another league, he falls in with the river of Santa Rosa, over which there is a commodious bridge. In this part, the soil, and the temperature of the air, are admirably calculated for the cultivation of plantains, canes, &c.; and accordingly a fine plantation has been made, since the new road was constructed. The drained lake of Negrococha next occurs, at the distance of somewhat more than a league, having in its vicinity good arable lands, and several decayed huts deserted by the ancient proprietors. Having journied another league, the traveller reaches the great marshes of Chapacra, in which there was formerly

* First opened by Don Juan de Bezares, in 1789. See p. 344.

† For these tambos, or baiting places, resembling in their institution the caravansaries of the East, travellers are chiefly indebted to the benevolence of the missionaries.

a populous Indian town having the same name. Its agreeable site, and the fine temperature of the air, call loudly for its re-construction; at the same time that the productiveness and fertility of these low grounds, in which the quina trees, those more especially that yield the yellow bark, flourish, render them well adapted to the cultivation of indigo, of fine tobacco similar to that produced at the Havannah, of cochineal which is collected throughout the year; of rice, and, in general, of all esculent plants, as is indicated by those that, growing wild, were formerly sought after with great avidity, and by those that still spring up. Here it is that Don Juan de Bezares has already cleared the ground for a new settlement, to be denominated San Carlos. At the distance of somewhat more than half a league lies the river Yanamayo, beyond which, at a similar distance, the traveller has to cross the bridge thrown by Bezares over the stream Xincartambo. Here commence the great pajonales (the parts covered by high grasses) of the mountainous territory, capable, through their extent, of nourishing many thousand heads of cattle of every description. Proceeding onward half a league, the bridge of Chinchima, over the river Monzon, terminates the eleven leagues of the new road opened by Bezares, the plantations and high grasses still presenting themselves to the view.

From this site the traveller proceeds by the bank of the river Monzon, and at the end of the second league reaches the village of Chipaco, in which there are twenty-six heads of families, partly mestizos, and partly tributary Indians, who are, as well as the other settlers on this bank, visited but once a year by the sub-rector, and the collector of the sub-delegate of the province. Considering the fertility of the extensive marshes they inhabit, and which are adapted, on either bank, to every description of cultivation, as well as to the rearing of cattle, they may be said to be poor and needy. Their idle prejudices formerly deprived them of the best part of their sustenance, namely, the broad beans and Yucas: the former, in their persuasion, gave them the itch, and the latter dried the blood. Bezares has, however, succeeded in subduing these prejudices, and, in addition to the above, has introduced various productions, particularly the anil, which for that purpose he caused to be brought from Nicaragua.

At the distance of half a league from the village of Chipaco lies the river Aucantagua, which rises in the south, and runs through an extensive and fertile marsh communicating with the high grounds. Several towns, inhabited by civilized Indians, formerly subsisted in this district. The vestiges of the capital, named Chancaran, are still discernible; and about them are to be seen the ruins of the works erected for the purifying of the gold and silver ores brought from the
mines

mines in the vicinity. Here a road may be opened without difficulty to the town of Xacas, belonging to the jurisdiction of Chavin. The Indians being sensible that such an enterprise is of extreme importance to the provinces of Guamalies, have made a voluntary offer to the chief magistrate, Don Juan de Bezares, to cut the road in question, on the simple condition of being supplied with provisions and the necessary working tools. Their proposition has been accepted; and in a little time the operations will be begun*. From the river Aucantagua, the traveller has to proceed a league to the town of Caunarapa, where the same fertility is discernible in various plantations of coca and other useful productions. Two leagues further lies the town of Monzon, situated on the bank of the river of the same name: it formerly boasted a numerous population, which is now reduced to six tributary Indians, with their families, and a few mestizos. In the vicinity of this town, there are several metallic veins, some of which are worked. Having passed a short league beyond Monzon, the traveller arrives at the plain of Pucara, by which is implied the plain of blood, in allusion to a battle said to have been fought there between the Spaniards and barbarians. The ruins of the town formerly inhabited by the latter, are to be seen on the bank of the above river, which flows to the right in its descent. Somewhat higher than the plain of Pucara, lies the great *quebrada*, or marshy ground, of Insuro: it is so wide and extensive, that it may be named a valley. It formerly contained several towns, the ruins of which are still to be seen, the principal ones having been Insuro, Paucaco, and Ascension. Don Juan de Bezares, aware of the facility with which a road might be opened from this site to the town of Patairrhondos, and to the city of Huanuco, drew up a plan, which he presented to the viceroy, pointing out all the benefits that would result from such an undertaking. Delays having arisen from a reference to the sub-delegate of the province, the impatience of the above public-spirited individual has led him to commence this very useful enterprise. Three leagues beyond Pucara, without quitting the bank of the river, the traveller arrives at the ruins of the town of Pampeteco, from which the valley took its name, and in which the Jesuits had their last conversion. Here it is that Bezares introduced the breed of black cattle†, which cannot fail to thrive on grounds abounding in such excellent pastures, and so well cleared. He is now employed in augmenting the population of the first settlement of Chicoplaya, distant one league from the above site.

* This itinerary bears the date of 1791.

† Referred to under the head of Topography, p. 345.

We conclude by the observation, that in the spaces already discovered, elevated grounds of a considerable extent, overspread with cinchona trees, which were unknown to the ancient inhabitants of these mountainous districts, are to be found. Large plantations of cacao which, at the end of three years, will afford two annual crops, may be made in different parts; and, independently of the superior quality of the produce, it may be conveyed to Lima at a less expence than attends that which is sent by sea from Guayaquil. The anil and anotto are collected at all seasons; the coca and cotton yield two crops annually; and the sugar-cane ripens within the year. The tobacco is said to be of so excellent a quality, that there cannot be any doubt of its cultivation being allowed, for the purposes of commerce. In such a case, this site alone will suffice to keep within the kingdom, the considerable sums now exported to the Havannah for the purchase of that commodity. There are spots well adapted to the cultivation of rice, beans, almonds, every description of esculent plants, and fruits for the dessert, not omitting the pine-apple. The breeds of cattle may not only be made to supply the wants of the population of the adjacent mineral territories, but may likewise contribute towards the resources of the capital, which draws a part of its supplies of this description from Conchucos, situated in a more remote part of Peru. The maize flourishes wherever it is sown; and its plants are so fruitful, that scarcely a spike or ear can be found which measures less than a foot in length. Wheat cannot be cultivated, unless at Chapacra; but the want of this grain will not be felt, because it is procured from the high lands at a very cheap rate, and because the Indians prefer the yucas, which grow to a very large size, to bread. Either boiled or toasted, they are highly relishing; as are likewise the plantains, of which there are several varieties, all of them delicious, and more particularly the small red plantain of Otaheite, which has been already introduced.

We pass over the wax, the honey, the singular trees, and other valuable productions; together with the rich lavatories* (*lavaderos*) of gold, which were not subjected to any trials by Bezares, who, it should be observed, was so much occupied by his enterprise, that he had scarcely time to take a cursory view of the mines he had discovered. We could dwell with enthusiasm on the cinnamon, which may be rendered so lucrative; on the balsams, vanillas, and numberless other productions that may be drawn from the Plains of the Sacrament, and principally from the part situated on this side of the Cordillera by which they are

* So called, because the Indians extract the gold from the sands of the rivers, by washing them in small wells dug for that purpose.—*Ulloa*.

intersected.

intersected. The converts inhabiting the two towns there founded by the Franciscan monks, would, it is presumable, lend their aid in collecting them, if a commerce, or traffic of exchange, were to be once established.

Which of the ancient provinces of the kingdom, it may be asked, affords conveniences, productions, and an abundance, tantamount to those of this uncultivated space? The passage leading to it having been cleared, the means are afforded to people this mountainous territory, and to establish a communication between the new settlers, throughout an extent of nearly sixty leagues in length, at which the frontier of Guamalies is computed, and of twenty-two in breadth. If it be certain, that the population is in all places augmented in proportion to the productions, how much may that of the kingdom be increased, by promoting the re-establishment of the decayed towns, which have no longer any thing to dread from the barbarians, and in which the Spaniard, however tenderly he may have been nurtured, may find a comfortable and agreeable abode. With the help of a few piastres, to begin his speculations, he may speedily realize a capital which will enrich himself and his posterity. If, in imitation of Don Juan de Bezares, any enterprising individual should undertake to facilitate the entrances by the provinces of Cusco, Guamanga, Jauja, Tarma, Ambo, and Pataz, may not the viceroyalty of Lima, in that case, promise to itself an equivalent to what it lost, in the dismemberment which took place to erect that of Buenos Ayres? The entrance into the mountainous territory illustrated above, is not the only one this valuable member of the community has engaged to clear. Two others may be enumerated, namely, the one he has begun, and submitted to the viceregal approbation, from Paucaco to Patairrhondos and Huanuco; and that which he has arranged with the Indians, from Old Chancaran to the town of Xican, likewise bordering on the province of Guamalies.

Urged by his example, the missionaries have already begun to open tracks of communication; but in undertakings of this nature the apostolical poverty of their profession cannot keep pace with their zeal, however effectually they may be aided by their converts. It is therefore necessary that the good subjects of the king, who possess the means, should engage in these enterprises, which will certainly be productive of greater advantages than can result from the sedentary commerce of the capitals, distributed in so many hands. They should, in the furtherance of their views, constantly bear in mind this most important maxim, neither to oppress any one in the traffic or labours, nor to bestow on the Indian the value of a needle, unless he contributes something, if it be nothing more than a flint he will afterwards have to throw away. They ought more especially, among the individuals of

this class, to display the moral excellences of humanity and christian charity. This conduct, and this description of generosity, are what acquired the above virtuous republican the universal good-will of these people, and enabled him to execute plans which could not otherwise have been accomplished without thousands of men, and many capitals.

THE END.

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ERRATA.

Page 29, line 3, *for amphibii, read amphibia.*

— 30, — 5, *for Phoroahs, read Pharoahs.*

— 134, — 10, *for mita, read metas.*

— 273, — 1, *for it is as agreeable, read it is agreeable.*

— 398, — 30, *for 8° below the freezing point, read 6° below, &c.*

